

JPRS 70564

30 January 1978

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1499

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20000410 167

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 70564	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.																		
	4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1499		5. Report Date 30 January 1978																		
7. Author(s)		8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	6.																		
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	11. Contract/Grant No.																		
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	14.																		
15. Supplementary Notes																					
16. Abstracts  The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.																					
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors <table border="0"> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs</td> <td>Propaganda</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania</td> <td>Political Science</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria</td> <td>Sociology</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia</td> <td>Military Organizations</td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Hungary</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td><input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs	Propaganda	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Albania	Political Science	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria	Sociology	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia	Military Organizations	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany		<input type="checkbox"/> Hungary		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania		<input type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia	
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17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms																					
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15																					
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 98																		
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price PCA05																		

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HONECKER CONGRATULATES GIEREK ON 65TH BIRTHDAY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jan 78 p 1 AU

[SED Central Committee letter of congratulation to Edward Gierek on his 65th birthday]

[Text] To Comrade Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw

Dear Comrade Edward Gierek: On the occasion of your 65th birthday I convey to you most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf.

The communists, all working people of the GDR, hold you in esteem as an outstanding functionary of the fraternal Polish party and of the international workers movement, as an ardent patriot and time-tested internationalist and as a faithful friend of our republic. They feel deep respect for your career as worker and revolutionary who is indefatigably working to make People's Poland flourish and to strengthen the international positions of socialism, in unwavering loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, closely linked with the party and the country of Lenin.

The important decisions of the Sixth and Seventh PZPR Congresses and their implementation, the augmented strength of socialist People's Poland, and the continued consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the other countries of the socialist community are inseparably linked with your work. We value your contribution, full of initiatives for implementing the Warsaw Pact states' common foreign policy line that is aimed at lasting peace, security and cooperation. Decisive stimuli for the continued shaping of the socialist relations between the SED and the Polish People's Republic emanate from the trustful cooperation of the SED and the PZPR, relations in which today millions of people on both sides of the Oder and the Neisse have a personal share.

The GDR and the Polish People's Republic are good neighbors, loyal friends and reliable alliance partners. This high quality of socialist relations is expressed in the historic friendship treaty that was signed on 28 May 1977 in Berlin. By implementing its far-reaching provisions we are continuing the time-tested course of our peoples, drawing closer together.

We wish you, dear friend and comrade, Edward, further great successes in your responsible work for the benefit of the Polish people and for the strengthening of socialism, good health and personal well-being.

With communist greetings,

[Signed] E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee.

CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HONECKER GREETES HUSAK ON 65TH BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 78 p 1 AU

["Greetings letter from the SED Central Committee on 65th birthday anniversary: Cordial Congratulations to Gustav Husak"]

[Text] To Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, Prague

Dear Comrade Gustav Husak, On the occasion of your 65th birthday anniversary, I convey to you on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the GDR State Council and people and personally most cordial greetings and fraternal congratulations.

The communists and working people of our republic revere and respect you as a meritorious functionary of the Czechoslovak and international workers movement, as an ardent patriot and unswerving internationalist.

Your way in life is marked by the struggle for peace and socialism. Alongside the glorious Soviet Union you untiringly struggled for the liberation of Czechoslovakia from the fascist tyranny. Your undaunted commitment during the Slovak national uprising is unparalleled.

We highly appreciate your personal contribution to the development and flourishing of socialist Czechoslovakia, to the successes of the working people under CPCZ leadership in fashioning the developed socialist society since the 14th and 15th party congresses.

Your activity and creative work are inseparably linked with the CSSR's constructive contribution to the struggle of the socialist community for the preservation of peace, for detente and international security.

The respect and heartfelt gratitude of the GDR working people are due to you, dear Comrade Gustav Husak, for your merits on behalf of the comprehensive development and deepening of the fraternal relations between our socialist neighboring states. The visit by the CSSR party-state delegation under your leadership to the GDR in October 1977 was an eloquent expression of this.



The treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, signed on this occasion, accords with the most legitimate interests of our two fraternal states and will tap new opportunities for our peoples to draw closer together.

Dear Comrade Gustav Husak, we wish you best health and well-being, much success in your responsible activity in building the developed socialist society in the CSSR for the cause of socialism, peace and progress throughout the entire world.

With communist greetings, E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

CSO: 2300

## ALBANIA

### SHORTCOMINGS OF THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES CITED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Oct 77 p 3

[Article by Xhavit Abazi and Capajev Gjokutaj: "Achievements and Problems of Theatrical Performances"]

[Text] The national meetings of professional theatrical performers which were conducted recently at Kukes, Durres and Sarande, whether through performances or through creative discussions, made it evident that work is being done to bring to reality the party's recommendation that theatrical performances be raised to a more perfect level, avoid banalities and not only respond to the present level of the esthetic tastes of the masses but also to influence their continual development.

All of the theatrical companies which attended these activities were striving, above all, to echo through their art the drive and enthusiasm which have erupted in the bosom of the working masses to implement the historic decisions of the Seventh Party Congress and to reflect the important problems related to the development of the class struggle on all of life's fronts: political, economic, military and ideological. The comedy, "Spare the Applause," staged by the Pogradec company, the musical comedy, "Holiday in the Brigade," produced by the Elbasan company, as well as a number of skits, monologs and songs by the Korce, Shkoder, Vlore and Durres companies, reflected the struggle of the working class to intensify the revolution and socialist building in conflict with alien concepts and practices. In the musical comedy, "Full of Desire," staged by the Sarande company as well as in quite a few plays performed by the theaters at Berat, Fier, Lushnje, Kukes, etc., our people's readiness to work and live wherever the fatherland needs them were reflected, and the intellectualist and contemptuous attitudes about village life and farming were stigmatized. The live and optimistic atmosphere which has erupted in the ranks of our young people and the struggle which they are waging to purge themselves and others of the "scoria" in their consciences were reflected by quite a few companies including the Tirana theatrical company with the performance, "The Flag of Action," which was devoted entirely to the revolutionary life and endeavors of youth.

The efforts to reflect important problems of actuality also comprised one of the more positive aspects of these meetings. Thus, a stop has now been put to the practice of creating humor with trifles, which cropped up in our theatrical performances several years ago. The treatment of important and actual problems with artistic sense will undoubtedly influence to raise even higher the militant and active character of this beloved art for the masses. However, despite these efforts and the results achieved, certain voids and shortcomings were also noted. Thus, for example, the defense theme is still not taking its proper place. In the majority of shows this theme was embodied through songs or through several immature skits. Likewise, the skits which exposed the true face of superpowers and world reaction were not only few in number, but generally suffered from archaic concepts. Inadequacies in the dramaturgic material caused these themes to be reflected chiefly through recitations, the majority of which were carefully selected and produced (The artists of Korce, Peshkopi, Shkoder, etc., are outstanding in this respect). In the future, however, greater efforts can be made to bring satiric and humoristic poems to the stage because this too is close to the nature of the theatrical performance as a comic genre.

As far as problematic themes are concerned, not only voids but also shortcomings were noted. Some problems were just touched upon in passing and did not attract the spectators' attention but, on the other hand, detracted from the force of the play as a whole. In the majority of cases this stems from the fact that not infrequently each new show is asked to treat all problems and themes. Our theaters produce about three to four new shows each year and it is therefore understandable that one will go deeper into one aspect while another will treat a different aspect, and so on. The "objective" of the show should be dictated by the most actual problems. It is the duty of the party workers who deal with this sector to broaden their horizons. However, this is not done by rarely coming to some discussion or rehearsal and making some general observations.

On the other hand, it is incumbent upon the creators or interpreters and directors to make greater efforts to recognize life from close up and in its specific expressions. Despite the improvements, it was also noted at these meetings that here and there they are still rubber-stamping various character types. Thus, the servile person continues to be personified only by the now "classic" method--the bent back; the bureaucrat with eyeglasses, umbrella and notebook; the young person with alien tendencies is portrayed with long hair and extravagant clothes, and so on. This carries with it two evils: first, repetition of the same procedure creates monotony and lessens the influence over the spectator; second, it causes one to rely solely on the external aspects of the character type and not penetrate to the heart of it at all. To limit the criticism to the alien manifestations of some young people to their dress and hair only means to oversimplify this important aspect of the class struggle. Today, when all of our

social opinion, guided by the party, has been raised against alien, liberal and conservative displays, the forms and nuances in which bureaucracy, servilism, indifferentism, snobism, prepotency, etc., are embodied are changing and adapting from day to day. The important thing is to recognize them in life and, through the grotesque, bring them to the stage. This will help to deepen the realism in our theatrical performances in conflict with formalistic renditions.

The deepening of realism is related not only to the character types but also to the ambience developed on the stage. An important role in all of this is played by scenography and costumes. However, there is a tendency to simplify these two important elements. This is often rooted in the fact that the literary and musical material is quite cut up and fragmentary. Thus, for example, in quite a few new shows there is an obvious lack of the skit and a tendency to replace it with the intermezzo, the monolog, the cuplet, etc. The skit and the one-act play are two of the genre of theatrical performances which present great possibilities for giving the fullest character and carrying problems to their conclusion. The avoidance of the skit by some shows is explained by the inadequate efforts to obtain the literary material, but in some cases it has come from the fact that staging the skit demands concrete and individualized ambiances. In quite a few shows it happened that even those few skits that were staged were performed with quite conventional scenery, even on the podium which served for singing. The Fier company has solved the problem of scenography generally well. Its skits were not only arranged as literary material, but also were developed with specific scenery, something which helped both the spectator to picture the scene better and the actor to get deeper into the role. At the Korce show, some skits were immature from the literary point of view, while their development with completely conventional backgrounds weakened them even more. The producers endeavored to fill this void by working more with the actors' movements on stage and with the rhythm of the production. However, this can only yield the expected results when they are based on sound literary and musical material. Otherwise, the danger of formalistic performances always remains possible. Efforts are being made to make greater and more creative use of the experience of the masses in creating artistic values in theatrical performances. One positive thing is that some of the companies are not limiting their reliance on folklore to song, dance or costume alone. The companies of Gjirokaster, Fier, Peshkopi, Vlore, etc., have endeavored in their earlier performances as well, to present on the stage the healthy humor of the people, the popular phraseology and anecdote. These efforts have nothing in common with the formalist tendency to make the spectator laugh with dialectal words and archaisms in speaking. The use of dialects, as in the other types of literary and artistic creativeness, should be done sparingly, only for purposes of individualism and characterism, otherwise the scenic art will contravene the efforts to conclusively crystalize the literary language.

In quite a few of the performances at these meetings, it was nice to note efforts to bring popular song and dance to the stage in an authentic or polished form. Only two observations might be made here. More research should be made into the wealth of humorous and satirical dances (humorous dancing was totally lacking during these meetings) and, on the other hand, any threat of displays of regionalism should be countered. It is understandable that the musicians from one show or another are better acquainted with the folklore in their district since they live among the people there. Thus, the Gjirokaster orchestra achieved fine results in arranging several themes of the South and orchestrations from Kukes. In the Korce show, the intonations of the urban popular music were not lacking, but much more work could have been done to bring in the just as beautiful themes of Devolli or of Gore-Opari. At the kukes show the Kukesian public welcomed the interpretation of the song, "Eagles Nest," which, as is known, was based on the themes of the polyphonic music of the South. It would be well in the future not to include only the songs and dances of the pertinent district in our shows. Under present conditions when the radio and television broadcasts are followed in all areas of the country, the spectator has become acquainted with and fallen in love with all of our people's folkloric creativeness.

If we keep in mind that the new shows which were performed were prepared especially for these meetings (i.e., the companies came with their maximum complement), then it becomes more apparent that despite the achievements in direction, music, interpretation, etc., there is no room for self-contentment.

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CSO: 2100

## BULGARIA

### DZHUROV ISSUES NEW YEAR'S ORDER OF THE DAY

Sofia NARODNA AMRIYA in Bulgarian 1 Jan 78 p 1 AU

[Order of the day issued by Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense on the occasion of new year 1978]

[Text] Comrades officers, generals, and admirals; comrades soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers; comrades engineers, technicians, workers and employees from the military enterprises and offices; soldiers of the reserve: 1977 has ended--the year in which progressive mankind celebrated the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution and the new Constitution of the Soviet Union--the constitution of a developed socialist society--came into effect.

1977 was a fruitful year for our peace-loving people. It was marked by the working people's struggle to implement the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the struggle to implement the slogan of strategic importance launched by the party in connection with high quality production and efficiency in all sectors of life. The socialist way of life is increasingly asserting itself and being perfected. Social optimism, a socialist approach to labor, an active role in life, comradeship and mutual assistance--these are the most characteristic features of our sociopolitical life. The Bulgarian people and their soldiers have achieved great successes in building a developed socialist society, closely rallied around the policy of the BCP and its Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

In 1977, the further intensification of comprehensive cooperation and friendship with the great Soviet Union and with the other fraternal socialist countries were the main trends in the international activities of the BCP and of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The increased economic and military power of the socialist community and their coordinated foreign political actions confirm detente in international relations and are increasing the attractiveness of real socialism.

However, the reactionary forces are increasingly intensifying their efforts to stop the process of detente. They are creating conflict situations in various areas of the world and continue the arms race. This demands increasing the Warsaw Pact's role as a factor in preserving peace and defending the achievements of the socialist community.

1977 was a fruitful year also for the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army. The quality and efficiency of the commanding organizational and political and political work by commanders, staffs, and political organs were enhanced, as was the role of the party and Komsomol organizations in increasing the combat readiness of the troops. The number of outstanding soldiers, specialists and frontrankers of subdetachments and units have increased. The collectives in military enterprises and of the military construction troops have achieved great successes in their work.

We are celebrating 1978 with optimism and faith in the splendid future of our socialist motherland. With this faith the soldiers and commanders of the Bulgarian People's Army are working to implement the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee in the life of the troops. They will improve their combat mastership and steadily increase the combat readiness of the troops. They will prepare for the national party conference and celebrate the 100th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation, as well as the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Army with worthy soldiers' deeds.

The Bulgarian People's Army, along with the armies of Warsaw Pact countries, headed by the invincible Soviet Army, will make their contribution to insuring ever increasing favorable conditions for socialist and communist construction and for preserving peace throughout the world.

Comrade soldiers and commanders, comrades workers, and military leaders, soldiers of the reserve: I most sincerely congratulate you on the forthcoming new year 1978. I wish you and your families much health, personal happiness and great results in combat and political training, in increasing the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army.

In connection with the new year 1978, I order that on 1 January 1978 at 0000 local time, 21 artillery salvos be fired and festive fireworks take place.

Happy New Year 1978!

Signed: Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, Minister of National Defense.

CSO: 2200

ZHIVKOV GREETES BRAZILIAN CP LEADER

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jan 78 p 1 AU

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary, has sent the following telegram to Luis Carlos Prestes, secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party.

Dear Comrade Prestes: On the behalf of the BCP Central Committee, all Bulgarian communists and working people, and on my personal behalf, please accept most cordial and friendly greetings on the occasion of your 80th birthday and your being awarded the "Georgi Dimitrov" Order.

Your extensive revolutionary activity as a great patriot and internationalist, tireless fighter in defending the Brazilian working people's rights and a noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement, who is firmly and consistently defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, is well known in our country. We have known you for many years as the leader of the heroic Brazilian Communist Party and a champion of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between our two communist parties, and between the Bulgarian and Brazilian peoples.

Awarding you with the highest Bulgarian award, which bears the name of Georgi Dimitrov--the leader and teacher of our people--is yet another recognition of your great contribution to the struggle against imperialism and reaction, for freedom, democracy and social progress, and the triumph of communism's great ideals, which you turned into the essence and meaning of your life.

We cordially wish you, Comrade Prestes, many long years of good health, personal well-being and successes in the difficult and heroic struggle that the Brazilian Communist Party is conducting today for the happy future of the Brazilian people.

CSO: 2200



BULGARIA

# ZHIVKOV GREETES BULGARIAN PEOPLE ON NEW YEAR

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Jan 77 p 1 AU

[New Year's greetings address by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council and BCP Central Committee first secretary, broadcast by Bulgarian Radio and Television on 31 December 1977]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades, Dear Compatriots: Once again it is New Year's Eve. The endless march of years continues throughout our planet, across rivers and seas, meridians and state borders. Tonight mankind is greeting the new year--1978. The people's destinies on our planet are still quite different. Also different are the feelings that inspire the peoples in seeing off the old year. Tonight, however, people throughout the world are wishing each other the same thing--that 1978 may be a happy year, a peaceful and fruitful year, a year of joy:

In the economic area 1977 was not one of the easiest years for us as a country, and, as a people, there have been ample difficulties and worries. They were caused by natural disasters as well as by the unfavorable international economic situation. They also resulted from our own shortcomings and weaknesses, which we discussed at the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee in 1976, and which continued to burden us in 1977.

Nevertheless, difficulties were not the main and decisive events in our people's lives. The main and decisive factors were the correct party decisions and the people's determination that they be transformed into practical deeds. This is why our socialist economy increasingly developed and at rapid rate during the year that has elapsed. Due to this, the upsurge in science, the arts, education and health protection also continued. The national program for raising the living standard was implemented and the socialist way of life was consolidated. This is why we part with 1977 with a kind word.

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, I would like in these last minutes of 1977 to express our recognition and sincere gratitude to the workers' class, the agricultural toilers and the intelligentsia, as well as to the soldiers and commanders of the People's Army,

the Ministry of Interior, and the construction troops, to our wonderful women and splendid youth for their conscientiousness and perseverance and for the selfless devotion and inspired enthusiasm with which they struggled to fulfill the decisions adopted by the 11th BCP Congress and the July plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

1977 was a favorable year for us also in the international sector. The socialist community strengthened even more and increased its comprehensive power. Our relations with the fraternal socialist countries were even more intensified.

Our party and government delegation's visit to the USSR and our nationwide celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution were bright demonstrations of Bulgarian-Soviet fraternity, of the comprehensive drawing closer together between Bulgaria and the USSR.

As to the main problem of our time--the preservation of worldwide peace--we can strongly assert that, in 1977, the struggle to reduce and eliminate the danger of war achieved new successes despite the efforts of certain military-political circles in the capitalist countries.

Bulgaria is undoubtedly contributing to this. Our foreign policy is clear and unchanging. It is aimed at a closer unity of the socialist community. It is a policy of support and cooperation with the countries fighting against imperialism. Our foreign policy enhanced the prestige of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as its influence in the Balkans, Europe and throughout the world.

Comrades, the incoming year, is the third, decisive year of the seventh five-year plan period. We are a country with a planned socialist economy. Bulgaria is a member of CEMA, and we are closely linked with the powerful USSR economy. This insulates us from the storms that are shaking the capitalist countries. Despite all this, however, a number of unfavorable international factors will continue to exert a certain influence upon our country also in 1978. This requires us to wage a struggle as early as the first days of the new year, and with even greater irreconcilability and perseverance, against shortcomings and weaknesses, a struggle aimed at enhancing the feeling of responsibility among all cadres and all working people for high quality in production and for high efficiency in all aspects of social activity.

An important event in the life of our party and country in 1978 will be the national party conference. It will discuss certain questions of crucial importance for our development and will give a new impetus to implementing the Seventh Five-Year Plan and, generally speaking, to further building a developed socialist society in our country.

In 1978 our country will celebrate the 100th anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from Ottoman oppression: 1 century of national freedom, after 5 centuries of slavery! This was a century marked by the rising of the red star of our revolutionary, communist movement, a century marked by the blood shed in

struggles against capitalism and fascism. It was a century that progressed toward Bulgaria's future with the broad steps of the five-year plan periods. From the pinnacle of this first century's anniversary, we can more clearly see in their true historical light and scope the deeds that the present Bulgarian generations have accomplished and are accomplishing for the strength and glory of their fatherland.

Dear comrades, compatriots: On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, I most sincerely congratulate you on the coming new year! Let it be a peaceful, fruitful, generous and happy year for socialist Bulgaria! Let it bring to all of you vigorous health and successes in your studies and work; may your dreams and plans become reality!

Happy New Year, dearest brothers and sisters!

CSO: 2200

## BULGARIA

### BULGARIAN CATHOLIC REFUGEE PRIEST RETURNS TO BULGARIA

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Dec 77 p 2 AU

[Kipra Dobрева article: "A Row of Frustrated Ambitions"--"The Continuation of a Press Conference Which Began in Vienna"]

[Editor's note: All Bulgarian dailies on 30 December carry articles and interviews with Ivanchev which repeat the details as given in the following article.]

[Text] On 22 December 1977 the Bulgarian press published a report on the press conference, given in Vienna by Borislav Ivanchev, a Catholic priest. Yesterday, the priest--who had lived for 12 years as a refugee after escaping from his native country--continued his statements to Bulgarian and foreign journalists here in Sofia. A repentant emigre is no longer a sensation to us in Bulgaria. However, if we dwell on this new case, it is only because we would like to answer our own question--Why does a man, who has left his country of his own free will, return to this native country of his own free will?--and also because we would like to draw certain, realistic conclusions from this case.

The beginning of this story would probably please the fans of cheap, detective novels. Under the cover of a diplomatic passport, wearing a cap, and disguised by false moustaches, having changed the color of his dark eyes with the help of drops (The passport said "blue eyes."), B. Ivanchev left Bulgaria under the assumed name of Josef van Streydonk. His future, distorted by the mirror of his own rather highstrung ambitions, appeared brilliant to him, as the future of a successful cleric, or that of a scholar with a brilliant university career awaiting him, enjoying all the benefits displayed in the rosy light of the Western show windows. Soon, however, neither the perfect make up, nor the drops in the eyes, are capable of concealing the pervading truth about a world of intrigues, deception, and corruption.

First case of coercion--In the camp of Zierndorf, near the town of Nueremberg (FRG), Ivanchev, alias Streydonk, had to assume a new name. He was renamed Josef Semler. The purpose of this was that the Catholic priest had to forget

his nationality and devote himself from now on to the service of anticommunist and anti-Bulgarian forces, subsidized with overseas currency. The priest asked himself the following questions: "Who is able to provide such a large sum-- 8,000 dollars (received by Ivanchev--RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial note)? Who is capable of forging documents in such an easygoing, and at the same time grossly cynical manner? Who is able to interfere into the order of the camp and to exert pressure even upon my own ecclesiastic superiors on the question of my place of residence?" He answered his own question in the following manner: "...All this is not the work of a clerical organization, but of a much more powerful institution, which is pulling the strings for its own purposes and, as facts later on convincingly proved, this institution was the CIA...."

Second case of coercion--After 4 years of studies in France, B. Ivanchev was transferred to Italy. Shortly before his graduation, however, he was sent to Munich without any further explanation, being ordered to begin all over again. Throughout all these years the innermost wish of the "powerful institution" was hanging over him--namely the wish that he should speak up against his fatherland. There were overt threats, such as this: "Before you begin your studies at the university, you will serve us for a while...." There were also alluring offers such as the following: "I will train you to become my successor...." This he is told by Khristo Ognyanov from Radio Free Europe [RFE], where there is an acute shortage of cadres. Last but not least, there is the "employment ban" for all those who have refused to serve the CIA....

Third case of coercion--Various people connected with U.S. intelligence services and with RFE asked B. Ivanchev to contribute to anti-Soviet publications such as POSEV and KONTINENT, as well as others. This actually means: You must work against your country, against your conscience, neglecting your own feelings, and then you will get paid. This also means: If you cannot work against your own conscience, against your own feelings, you will have to starve. This is the Western approach to the right of labor, to man's right of choosing his own career.

The fate of a man with a refugee passport is sad. It is the fate of someone who has deliberately proceeded along the path of the subversive activities of the capitalist world; it is a fate bought off and guided by the enemies of socialism--a fate without joy and without escape. But there is one escape. There at the border which you have crossed of your own free will, years ago. Nevertheless, how will they greet you? What will they tell you? And how are you going to look into their eyes?

On many occasions the socialist system has demonstrated one of its basic virtues--humaneness. After 12 years of odyssey, B. Ivanchev is in Bulgaria again, in the country where he was born, in the country which educated him and gave him the opportunity to study at the university. How did he reciprocate? He paid his country back by an unworthy escape to hunt for shining illusions, which crumbled on merely touching them.... Now, the country called "fatherland" has to forgive. It is generous. The most difficult thing for a man, however, is to forgive himself.

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

CSSR-PDRY RADIO AGREEMENT--A delegation of Czechoslovak radio led by Kvetoslav Faix, chief of the editorial office for news and political journalism, returned to Prague today from a visit to the capital of the PDRY--Aden. He signed an agreement there with Jamal, director general of radio and television of the PDRY, which provides for cooperation between the two broadcasting organizations in exchanging music and literary programs as well as radio workers. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Jan 78 LD]

CSO: 2400

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT OF PRIESTS DISCUSSED

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 17, No 11, Nov 77 pp 6-8

[Commentary from clergy of a GDR diocese: "Can The Priest Be Apolitical? --Thoughts On A Much Debated And Always Current Topic"]

[Text] Time and again we learn through the mass media that Catholic priests not only take positions with regard to political questions, but also frequently become involved in the day-to-day battle of politics. From the wealth of possible examples, let us make reference here only to many Latin American clergymen who place themselves on the side of the exploited and oppressed, openly speak up for their rights and include their concerns in the prayers of intercession in the celebration of the Eucharist. We know similar practices to exist in Spain and South Africa. Not seldom these priests are encouraged by the example or at least the guiding word of individual bishops or entire conferences of bishops. Finally they are considerably reinforced in their action by the repeated admonitions of the pope to serve the cause of peace and social progress.

This experience is confronted by another. Not a few priests avoid social involvement and the discussion of political questions. They attempt to remain "neutral" and refer in this connection to a series of apparently plausible-sounding arguments. The priest, so they say, has his mission from the church, and this mission belongs exclusively to the religious order. Moreover, it is said, the priest must be available to all and can commit himself neither in a political or any other direction. To what extent are such arguments sound?

The question of whether the priest shall become involved in the social realm, whether and to what extent he can take a position with regard to current political questions, or perhaps even must do so, has been the subject of much discussion throughout history and even today has lost nothing in the way of relevance. It can also not be limited to certain countries or to a certain political system. We are dealing here rather with a fundamental question, which can be answered only by taking into consideration different points of view.

## Aspects of the Proclamation

First of all, the question must be posed as to whether a priest can be "apolitical" at all. To find a valid answer to that question, one must consider what the priest is and what his tasks are. The church teaching profession, especially the second Vaticanum, has made clear pronouncements with regard to this, and there is absolutely no reason to take away anything from this. In the decree on the service and life of priests, we read that the first task of the priest is to proclaim the Good News to all and to celebrate the holy sacraments as the servant of him, who exercises his priestly office through his spirit for us always in the liturgy. Beyond this, the priests are to assemble the family of God and to concern themselves above all with the poor and lowly.

The proclamation of the Good News is the primary task of the priest. This message, however, reaches people who do not live in a vacuum, but who live in their time under quite definite social conditions and expect answers to their questions. The message, therefore, will reach them only if the priest speaks their language and attempts to answer their concrete problems equally concretely. These, however, include not just so-called "purely religious" questions. No priest can deny that many believers also seek the answer to questions that have to do with the realization of Christian existence under the given social conditions. With that, however, the priest has already been called into a political decision. Using Good News as his reference, he cannot give an answer that is valid "somewhere"; rather he must keep in mind the actual situation and also understand it. A Christian living under socialist conditions, after all, will have to make decisions for himself which are different from those of his brother-in-faith in faraway South Africa, who because of the color of his skin is constantly the subject of discrimination.

Thus one can say: There is no "apolitical" proclamation. Even the message of Christ was by no means apolitical. It was precisely his partiality for the oppressed and disadvantaged, as well as his unrelenting hardness vis-a-vis the wrongful conduct of the religious and political leaders of the House of David, which brought him to the cross. Compared to this it is quite justified to ask whether the proclamation of our time does not frequently suffer from the fact that it ignores completely the concrete reality and the situation of the listener and deals in abstract sentences. One thing is for certain, even if one is sometimes not ready to admit it: Even the rhetorically most polished sermons do not reach the listener if they do not speak to him and his problems.

The statement that there cannot possibly be an "apolitical" proclamation of course, does not mean that the church's proclamation should be a continuation of political propaganda and agitation on another plane. With justification this would be rejected by every priest, for the pulpit is not a podium to be used for making political speeches. The devastating



consequences flowing from the misuse of the pulpit in the past and the present for the realization of reactionary political goals are sufficiently known.

### Called to Solidarity

Let us return to the text of the Church Council. The priest is supposed to concern himself with the poor and lowly. Here the Council, above all, has in mind the specific congregation, but not exclusively. For the priest is called--to express it with a word from the political terminology--to identify with all who are in need, oppressed and exploited. This solidarity must manifest itself in word and deed. Such solidarity, however, insofar as social causes of destitution, oppression and exploitation are at issue, is always also a political decision. This again makes clear the fact that the priest cannot be apolitical at all. In the expression of solidarity and love for his fellow man he must decide in a partisan way. Solidarity includes a pro as well as a contra.

In summarizing, let us, above all, maintain the following: The primary task of the priest is to proclaim the word of God to men in a specific situation, and to have the obligation to be available to certain people in a special way. Consequently, the priest is in no position to maintain his neutrality in political questions. That partisan conduct under certain social conditions can split a congregation politically cannot be denied, but it also cannot be prevented. Jesus himself recognized this fact and reckoned with it.

### What Does Canon Law Say on the Subject?

A second fundamental consideration derives from canon law. Canon 139, of the code of the Latin Church pursues the question of whether a cleric may assume the mandate of a deputy and states in this connection that the assumption of such a mandate presupposes the permission of the bishop. As far as other social activity of the priest is concerned, reference is made to a declaration by the Council congregation of 1927, according to which the local ordinary has the right and duty to forbid priests to engage in political activity when it does not fall within the norms set up by the Apostolic See. From the standpoint of canon law, the question concerning political involvement of the priest is thus clearly answered. There is no absolute and general prohibition. A priest can be prohibited from political activity by the bishop only if it stands in clear opposition to the declared intention of the Holy See. This conclusion especially seems to be of decisive significance.

### The Priest Under Socialism

The question still remains whether and to what extent the priest can involve himself socially and politically under socialist conditions. Yet we must, above all, note that here too, he is dealing with people who

expect answers to their questions and want to find out from the priest how they can realize their Christian existence under socialist conditions. The priest, however, will be able to give a valid answer only if he himself has dealt thoroughly with the social reality and the politics of the socialist state and has arrived at his own point of view. Expert knowledge and partiality, therefore, are necessary if the proclamation is not to be missed by those for whom it is intended.

Now it cannot be denied that expert knowledge and a partisan point of view can be acquired in a number of different ways. The best way, however, questions and problems can be cleared up in open and candid conversation. Willingness to talk with those who are responsible for the policies of the socialist state, therefore, should be among the principles of every priest. Nevertheless it must be noted that the priority task of the National Front is to hold political talks. Especially in the "Christian Circle" working groups the priest is given the opportunity to deal thoroughly with the fundamental principles of socialist politics and to resolve open questions in candid conversation. Those who persistently evade such conversations lay themselves open to the question whether they are honestly willing to inform themselves in an impartial way and to find their own point of view. Well-balanced information and a partisan point of view, however, are indispensable prerequisites for a modern proclamation.

#### Listening and Participating

Another question has to do with the participation of priests in political events of various sorts. Naturally the priest is not obligated to attend every one of these events. Nobody expects this of him. Yet such participation--who would deny this--can be very profitable for the priest, too. Reports and discussions convey much knowledge and experience that are also of considerable value for the pastor. Beyond this, the priest shows through his participation that he is interested in the problems that are to be deliberated and that, as far as possible, he is ready to contribute to their solution in his own specific way. This is particularly true of deliberations by committees of the National Front in which communal social questions as well as problems of maintaining and strengthening peace are discussed. It would be absurd to insist that listening and participating in such questions would not serve to build up the community and lead to its division. In a social order in which antagonistic class contrasts no longer exist and in which the policies of the state are solely aimed at the well-being of all its citizens, there is no way that the priest to join in political deliberations and action in the sense mentioned above can stand in contradiction to the interests of the community. The question regarding the possibility of political involvement by the priest in our socialist society, therefore, is to be answered clearly in the affirmative. Therefore, it should be emphasized once again: The point is not the desire to make the priest into a political functionary. He is and remains servant of the church.

It is from the church that he has his mission. He must conscientiously carry it out and, moreover, under the conditions of our social order-- this the faithful rightly expect. Those who as servants of the church, however, withdraw into a ghetto render a good service neither to the church nor to the believers entrusted to them.

8970

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### ATTITUDES OF YOUTH TO PARTY, STATE EXPLORED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 10 No 12, Dec 77 signed to press  
26 Nov 77 pp 1243-1247

[Article by Gisela Schuetze: "Two Festivals in October--GDR Youth Between Opportunism and Opposition"]

[Text] The Red October Festival, which took place from 19 to 22 October in East Berlin and during which over 100,000 Thaelmann pioneers and FDJ [Free German Youth] members from all GDR bezirks [GDR administrative unit] brought the state-prescribed merriment in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Russian October Revolution to a premature climax, was very much to the SED's liking. It was evidence of the GDR youth's reverence for the Soviet Union and it represented official acceptance of the revolutionary tradition. It was also a progress show, an account of the FDJ and pioneer missions and evidence of loyalty to the state, of a sense of duty and of zest for work.

In the World Youth Stadium, there was ablaze the symbolic revolutionary fire, which had been brought from Leningrad by relay runners. In his welcoming address to the participants--"Side by side with all workers you will develop the socialist revolution in our German Democratic Republic along the lines mapped out by the Ninth SED Congress and in this way build your communist future"<sup>1</sup>--, Erich Honecker pointed to the "deep meaning" and context.

The GDR youth's love for the socialist fatherland, its trust in the Socialist Unity Party were eloquently professed not only by slogans and banners, but also by FDJ boss Egon Krenz. In proof, he presented the new records set in the material economy action program, in the collection of scrap metal and waste paper, in the innovator initiatives and in housing construction.

The Party for its part obviously placed less confidence in the young people. Aside from the organizers and a well-planned program, it was a huge force of state security officials and police which ensured that the Red October Festival remained until the very end a festival of disciplined

joy of living. The approximately 600 events--memorial rallies, honor guard service, exhibitions, award ceremonies and competitions ranging from singing and handicraft contests to the paramilitary test march--were almost in every instance staged during the day or indoors.

The SED has not yet got over the bitter end of that festival on 7 October, the GDR national holiday, when on account of the untimely ending of a rock concert and on account of overly loud Soviet balalaika strains riots broke out at the foot of the television tower. In the issue of 14 October, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, making light of it, spoke of a "confrontation between the police and a few loudmouths" and of "physical violence by a few rowdies or youngsters who under the influence of the hot beat did not know what they were doing." Two Western journalists who reported in greater detail on more serious occurrences were officially contradicted and admonished. However, both the disavowal behind the scenes and the obstruction of ARD [Working Group of FRG Broadcasting Institutes] correspondent Lutz Lehmann, who wanted to film the scene on Alexander Square in the late evening of 7 October, confirmed the credibility of their reports.

According to the reports, the extent of the riot was quite alarming. On 12 October, the British news agency, REUTER, spoke of approximately 200 injured and 3 casualties, including 2 policemen. According to a SPIEGEL report of 14 November, two more policemen have in the meantime succumbed to their injuries. All in all, 68 policemen were injured and 200 juveniles were arrested. The youths involved in the riots numbered from 1000 to 2000. They tore down Party posters and demonstratively burned pieces of uniform. Armed with knives, beer bottles and cobblestones, they attacked the advancing police.

Strictly speaking, the protests were not really political. It is reported, however, that there were shouts such as "Biermann, Biermann," "Germany" and "Russians get out." And that the GDR youths are increasingly allergic to representatives of the state was also demonstrated at this year's Werder Tree Blossom Festival, at which a high-ranking SED official was beaten up during a mass brawl involving drunk youths, police and army recruits.

Which of the two festival snapshots is representative? What is the GDR youth's present attitude towards party and state?

As evidence of its successful youth policy, the SED likes to quote figures: At present, close to 2.2 million youths are organized in the FDJ, the state youth league of the GDR. This is the equivalent of 66.1 percent of all 14- to 25-year-old youths. Of this total, more than 19,000 participate on all levels in the people's representative bodies, in which the FDJ is represented by its own fractions. There are quite

a few juvenile mayors and plant directors. As evidence of its trusting relationship with the masters of tomorrow, the SED also adduces the great number of youth brigades and youth projects, above all the construction of the Druzhba [Friendship] line in the Soviet Union and the construction of an entire city district in East Berlin.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, it is not denied even by SED functionaries that the GDR youth kicks over the traces more and more frequently. According to unofficial East Berlin estimates, the number of juvenile delinquents more than doubled during the last 5 years. More and more frequently, the GDR press reports instances of alcoholism and rowdiness. Subsequent to a sentence reversal passed by the Supreme Court on 7 July, stiffer sentences have been passed on park and telephone booth vandals, city train rioters and drunk soccer fans. And the instances of rowdiness are merely extreme manifestations of a general rebelliousness and lack of discipline, which is lamented even by teachers in the GDR provinces.

Years ago, Ulrich Plenzdorf explained--in the sufferings of the young W.--the ostensible contradiction. There is a "model boy, grade point average 1+, the son of wonderful parents." And in his district, there is a "gang which turns over park benches and smashes windows." When the leader is caught one day, he turns out to be that magnificent model boy, who now sports a wig with the hair flowing to his shoulders. "One day, he had had enough ..."

The growing lack of discipline is only the reverse of order fetishism and coercion starting at the kindergarten level; it is the result of an official education which leads to careerism and philistinism, which measures the loyalty to the state by the work performance and which restricts the revolutionary elan to the building effort. It is as much a consequence of the increasing coercion to perform and adjust as the alcoholism and drug addiction or the rising suicide rate. Irene Blumenthal, an East Berlin chief public health officer, reported that from 10 to 15 percent of the GDR children and youths are no longer capable of coping with the socialist society and she aptly described the antipodal safety valves: "Some say: 'I do not want to live any longer, not in this society or anywhere else.'... And the others, they say: 'We'll blow up this whole show.' By 'whole show' they mean the school, the plant, their well-established family, their parents who often occupy high positions," apparently frequently high party positions. This inference is suggested by Kurt Hager's statement at the latest Central Committee Plenary Session; Hager emphasized that "the communists bear great responsibility for the education of their own children and nobody can dispense them from this responsibility." The third safety valve, the flight to the West, is naturally passed over by the therapy-oriented Christian GDR doctor. And the therapy itself is fraught with risks for

the SED: Quite often, it converts the self-destructive or aggressive emotions into conscious political protest.<sup>3</sup> The performance and adjustment pressure--in the school, at the university and on the job, in the struggle against obstacles to leisure time and freedom, in the conflict with ideology and reality--is likewise very complex.

In the GDR, the grade point average rules supreme, even if it is only a question of quite ordinary jobs such as kindergarten teacher or locksmith, not to mention the requirements concerning an unequivocal political standpoint and social engagement. Since in accordance with official policy admission to the university is granted not only on the basis of the "requisite scholastic and social achievements," but also "in accordance with the requirements of socialist society and with due regard for the social structure of the population,"<sup>4</sup> enrollment was reduced in favor of skilled worker training and more study places were given to children of workers. In spite of protection from unemployment, the result is frustration: Of those granted permission to study, every fifth does not study the subjects of his choice, and of the apprentices, only two of three learn the desired trade. But it is precisely they who from the very beginning are locked into the increasingly intense socialist competition.

Quite frequently, their frustration is intensified by bad housing conditions and disturbed family relations. The dislike for work is intensified by incorrect pampering, and the boredom experienced during leisure hours is in keeping with the hectic and monotonous work on the job. Many divorced mothers prefer to raise their children by themselves. Others are left to themselves, since professionally and socially their parents are too perfect models. And with rising incomes, love substitutes are plentiful. The cassette recorder given to celebrate the occasion of youth consecration or the moped given to the high school graduate have been the fashion for a long time. More and more teenagers loaf in the streets and invest their pocket money in excessive beer consumption.

Of all the parties concerned, the SED is the one most apt to acknowledge these connections. Increasingly, pedagogues emphasize the importance of education in the family; they warn against excessive gifts, which only serve to foster in the children egotism and a careless work attitude, a form of philistinism despised also by the SED. At the fifth plenary session of the SED Central Committee, Erich Honecker pleaded for more and improved leisure time opportunities, for dances and youth fashion. Rock music, long hair and jeans are expressly permitted by both the State Youth League and the Party.<sup>5</sup> Lately, GDR economic experts have shown touching concern for satisfactory domestic production of these allegedly "individualized one-time work clothes" so that the young people need no longer search through Eastern press ads for jeans made in the West.

How narrow the fashion limits still are in spite of such freedom safety valves was recently shown by NEUES LEBEN, a journal for young people, which through many months published a rather controversial discussion on the question as to whether a true GDR boy may wear an American stars-and-stripes shirt. After a variety of sobering comments--to the effect that such shirts are "cool" or that in this area there are still gaps in the GDR textile industry--the journal drew the following conclusion: Whoever thus "makes propaganda for the most aggressive imperialist state" shows at any rate a "nonchalant, careless attitude." Even the ostensibly innocent Western shirt is a means of manipulation for the enemy.<sup>6</sup> And in spite of all concessions, Western television and rock music are likewise suspect to the SED. "How are things done nowadays?" asked an FDJ functionary during a radio discussion on the problems in connection with GDR youth discipline. "The ZDF [Second German Television Program] or ARD [Working Group of FRG Broadcasting Institutes] show a film which somehow affects the young crowd. They go to a dance, have a little alcohol and get so high that they blow up all of a sudden, that they have to get free somehow. I think that in regard to this problem we should find ways of having a greater influence."<sup>7</sup>

This statement correctly points out that lack of discipline, consumption of alcohol and dislike for work are ultimately also an expression of longing for the West and of social protest; these emotions on their part spring from the most diverse sources: from the wall complex and from an all-German national consciousness as much as from the GDR's desperate consumption competition with the Federal Republic and from the disgust with the rigid, unimaginative SED ideology.

In vain, the SED preaches hatred against the class enemy, whom the GDR youth knows only by hearsay or in the form of increased visits by relatives. "In our educational work ..., we must never forget that in regard to fundamental values such as nation and fatherland we are sometimes directly confronted--under the conditions of class struggle--with reactionary class concepts disseminated by the enemy;" thus lamented Gerhart Neuner, president of The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, in the theoretical SED journal EINHEIT, which for good reasons devoted its May issue to the communist education of youth. "Under the cosmopolitan conditions in the GDR, the children and youth ... are in many ways confronted with enemy attempts to influence them and impose on them a 'Western way of life.' Sometimes, it is difficult for them to realize the intensification of the class struggle and to see through the sophistication of the ideological diversionary tactics employed by the enemy."<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, either the SED has drawn the wrong conclusions or it pursues a strategem, when it simply blames the class enemy for the increasing ideological difficulties and when it vehemently gives vent to



its feelings by means of campaigns against the West German grandmother bringing chewing gum, panty hose and T-shirts or against the aunt from Munich, who likes to buy cheaply in the GDR. It soon becomes clear--at the latest when mention is made of the "stupid" boastful aunt, who criticizes the deficient planned economy of the GDR, or of the uncle from Cologne, who assumes "that we are dissatisfied with our state, since it is said that one should build a very different socialism"--that the point at issue is not outside criticism of the GDR.<sup>9</sup> Margot Honeckers' attempt to attribute philistinism and "incidences of laziness, lack of interest and cooperation and still existing egotistical thought" to ideals and suggestions by the class enemy is corrected by a GDR apprentice's comment on the subject of communism: "I don't think that I'll ever be a communist.... When one belongs to a brigade, in which everyone is only interested in taking it easy, one can't help joining in."<sup>10</sup>

The SED has not succeeded in ensuring the GDR youth's loyalty to the communist ideology. More and more youths openly dissociate themselves from the official dogma. And there are more and more protests against the collective on behalf of the individual, and it makes no difference whether these protests--as is most often the case--give expression to the desire to retreat to the private sphere or to the desire for socialism with humane features.

It is difficult to estimate how many troublesome Christians, advocates of civic rights, Euro-communists and followers of Biermann, Havemann or Bahro there are among the GDR youth. However, aside from the arrests reported and aside from the deportations of young rebels to the West, the steps taken against the protagonists and multipliers, against all those writers and artists who stood up for the right of the individual against society, tell their own tale: From the members of the Renft combo, which was disbanded as early as 1975 and which in the "rock ballad about little Otto" had for the first time sung of the GDR youth's bondage-caused longing for the West and of escape from the Republic, to Thomas Brasch, in whose book the sons die before the fathers; from Wolf Biermann, Reiner Kunze, and Juergen Fuchs to the rather unpolitical actor Manfred Krug, who on account of his outsider roles became a protest symbol and youth idol.

Apparently most of the young people in the GDR have realized that along with the restriction of the taboo limits in art, their own little freedom shrinks as well, that the liberal beginnings of the first Honecker years are on the verge of being undone. When Wolfgang Herger, the head of the Youth Department in the SED Central Committee, again raises the requirements concerning the quality of ideological work among the young people--the SED base organizations have delegated over 52,000 comrades as group leaders for the new FDJ study year--and when in keeping with a well-known pattern he mentions the class enemy's attempts "to discredit the

successful youth policy of our party and to undermine the unity of party and youth," this gives rise to quite a few associations.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, the growing ideological coercion also serves to increase hypocrisy and the number of fellow travellers. Searching for more "pace setters," the party itself confronts the "socialist hermits," who at the clash of ideal and reality will at least make catcalls from the auditorium, with the "opportunists," who would rather ditch the ideal. The party rebukes those, who--lacking the courage of their opinions--only follow their instinct, as well as the others, who carry their frankness to such extremes "that they fear losing their individuality if they toe the line."<sup>12</sup> However, for fear of these individualists, the party does not dare to encourage the mass of the fellow travellers to speak their mind by creating really open space for free discussions. On the contrary: Already, the East Berlin psychologist Reiner Werner criticizes that "exaggerated individualism leads to dissatisfaction and an unjustified cult of freedom." He also no longer wants to accept that young people "show an ideal conformist attitude only on the outside and that on the inside they constantly grumble, baby their whims and are depressed about the fact that they cannot develop their faculties."<sup>13</sup> Already, Eberhard Mannschatz, department head in the GDR Ministry of Education, conjures up the "danger of infection" in case of "toleration of disorder or false reactions to undisciplined behavior."<sup>14</sup> In other words, the party wants to intensify the struggle against the fellow travellers, whom in the long run it cannot be proud of. Without them, the GDR youths' building performance, which was extolled by Egon Krenz at the Red October Festival, would not have been possible. But without them the spark of rebellion would not have caught fire so fast on the GDR national holiday. They are much more numerous than the as yet small group of rebels and the equally small group of genuine followers of the regime; they are also more numerous than the growing group of cynical opportunists, who always will only be interested in their own career. They are the real uncertainty factor, and not only in regard to the SED youth policy.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 14 October 1977.
2. See EINHEIT, No 5, 1977, p 565. "GDR Youth in Facts and Figures," EINHEIT, No 10-11, 1977, p 1202; and the exact membership (2,193,488) in JUNGE GENERATION, No 7, 1977, p 13.
3. Kurt Hager at the Seventh Session of the Central Committee, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 November 1977; and Irene Blumenthal at the Synod Conference of the GDR Church Federation, epd-Documentation 46/47, p 36;

see the article by Gisel Helwig in this issue, p 1253 f. See also Thomas Auerbach, interview with the BERLINER SONNTAGSBLATT, published in FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 10 November 1977.

4. GDR Youth Law of 28 January 1974, GDR Legal Gazette, Part I No 5.
5. See Egon Krenz at the Tenth FDJ Parliament, only partially reprinted in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 2 June 1976: "We oppose sectarian attitudes vis-a-vis natural youthful phenomena in the field of fashion and other spheres of life. We do not judge a young person primarily by externals ... On the other hand, we definitely oppose those few, who by their rowdyish behavior, violations of the law and alcohol abuse try to disturb the cultured atmosphere of the youth events." Even more outspokenly, Egon Krenz stated in regard to the new "GDR 30 FDJ Levy," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 22 November 1977: "The principle observed in youth policy, namely to trust the young people and to entrust them with responsibility, is also reflected in the fact that we judge nobody just by externals ... It is precisely for this reason that we are on our guard against the machinations of the class enemy, who under the banner of 'modernism' tries to export to our country his degrading and cynical way of life."
6. NEUES LEBEN, No 3-7, 1977.
7. Radio GDR II, 15 June 1977, Studio 70, discussion on the topic: "Is Our Youth Lacking in Discipline?"
8. Op. cit., pp 550 and 552.
9. See especially the fictitious letter to Conni, NEUES LEBEN, No 5, 1977, pp 4 ff, and the letter to the uncle in Cologne, JUNGE WELT, 3 June 1977.
10. Margot Honecker at the Ninth Party Congress, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 May 1976, and NEUES LEBEN, No 1, 1977, p 8.
11. NEUER WEG, No 21, 1977, pp 929 ff (930).
12. WELTBUEHNE, No 32, 1977, pp 1004 ff, and FORUM, No 18, 1977, p 3.
13. Radio GDR, see footnote 7.
14. PAEDAGOGIK, No 9, 1977, pp 844 ff (845).

EAST GERMANY

'POSITIVE EFFECTS' OF QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ANALYZED

East Berlin DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 22 No 12, Dec 77, signed to press 3 Nov 77 pp 57-65

[Article by Prof Dr Herbert Kroeger, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence, Potsdam-Babelsberg: "Strict Observance of West Berlin Agreement--A Demand of Reason and Law"]

[Text] It is a feature of the current international situation and trends that the efforts for the stabilization, deepening, extension and irreversibility of detente have become the foremost problem. At this time--and that applies to Europe especially--we are confronted with the fact that, on the one hand, thanks to the initiative of the socialist countries, substantial success has been achieved in the implementation of political detente, so that we are justified in saying that detente has become the dominant trend in international relations, but that on the other hand this progress can by no means be considered conclusively assured and irrevocable, indeed that the operations of forces hostile to detente are increasing in extent and intensity, and we are therefore bound to note a rise in tensions in certain spheres.

In these circumstances the pursuit of detente, the comprehensive material underpinning of detente and its complementing by effective arms limitation and disarmament, have become the main tasks in the struggle for peace and international security.<sup>1</sup>

The defense of the steps and measures of detente achieved against all attempts to undermine, "revise" or reverse them in this or that manner must be an essential element in the efforts for the consolidation and expansion of international, especially European, detente.<sup>2</sup> Evidently this applies in particular to international treaties and other international agreements by which the signatory nations have accepted reciprocal obligations which represent the building blocks and components of detente. Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign minister, pointed out at the 32d U.N. General Assembly, that it is immensely important for detente and the realization of the final act of Helsinki strictly to observe international treaties. He remarked pertinently:

"Never before did the principle 'pacta sunt servanda' have such a firm foundation in international reality and such a great practical import for the maintenance of peace."<sup>3</sup>

One of the international treaties of particular significance for detente in Europe and European security is the internationally appreciated Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin concluded by the Governments of the USSR, Britain, the United States and France on 3 September 1971, which took effect on 3 June 1972.

This quadripartite agreement is explicitly designed to encourage within its scope "the removal of tensions and the prevention of complications." The signatory nations also quite consciously concluded it as a step toward the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and the initiation of improved relations among the nations of that Continent.

Looking back to the effects of the Four-Power Agreement after an interval of more than 6 years, we are bound to affirm that--overall--it has fulfilled these tasks and expectations. History has confirmed that we owe to this agreement the fact that the long lasting, extremely serious and threatening tensions and conflicts regarding West Berlin have largely been removed, and that significant progress has been made on the way to normalizing the situation at this former intersection of international tensions. As a result the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin not only benefited that city and its residents because it consolidated the situation in and around West Berlin, made more secure the lives of West Berliners and provided the city and its residents with more favorable prospects. Its beneficial effects also extended well beyond West Berlin. It is now obvious to all that the agreement was an important link in the chain of those international acts which, generally, have resulted in a fundamental shift in international relations since the early 1970's (especially in Europe), and smoothed the way to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the final act of Helsinki.

These beneficial effects of the Four-Power Agreement are confirmed by the fact that all responsible forces in Europe and beyond largely agree on the positive appraisal of its content and consequences. That applies first of all to the attitudes of the socialist countries which consider the agreement (justifiably so) a significant success of their consistent as well as persistent policy of mutual understanding and detente.<sup>4</sup> For objective geographical reasons the GDR is enormously and legitimately interested in the situation in and around West Berlin. Just lately Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, pointed out the "advantages and positive developments linked to the Four-Power Agreement."<sup>5</sup> Disregarding some specially committed opponents of detente, people in the West European countries, the United States and West Berlin proper are well aware of the significance and favorable results of the quadripartite agreement on the political development of Europe, although unfortunately this appreciation does not by any means suffice to

shape the practical policy of these countries. The heads of state and government of France, the United States, Britain and the FRG, for example, explicitly emphasized the "positive effects" in their London Declaration of 9 May 1977, although in other respects this declaration virtually amounts to the repudiation of the quadrilateral agreement.<sup>6</sup>

Two factors, especially, are the decisive basis of the beneficial effects of the Four-Power Agreement on West Berlin, confirmed in the appraisals quoted as well as in many others.

In accordance with the repeated requests of the socialist nations this agreement is clearly based on the real situation in Central Europe subsequent to World War II. On the other hand it represents a balanced compromise among the signatory nations and all parties interested in the situation in and around West Berlin. This compromise was facilitated, in particular, by the accommodating attitude and the goodwill of the GDR. The understanding arrived at in this agreement, therefore, doubtlessly represents the best settlement possible in the given conditions for the complex problems of West Berlin.

In view of the generally recognized significance of the quadripartite agreement for the security as well as the maintenance and pursuit of detente in Europe and the prosperous development of West Berlin, it is surprising and worrying to note recent actions and attitudes in the FRG and West Berlin, which are obviously designed to undermine the Four-Power Agreement, attack its premises and reverse its meaning.

On the one hand these efforts aim, in contradiction to the text of the quadripartite agreement, at the gradual extension of FRG competences concerning West Berlin and at the de fact increasing integration of West Berlin with the FRG. These intentions are served by such measures as the official appearances in West Berlin of members of the FRG Government or minister presidents of the Federal Laender, the execution of official acts in West Berlin by, among others, the FRG Federal Prosecutor General, meetings in West Berlin by FRG parliamentary organs (beyond the limits drawn by the Four-Power Agreement) as well as the attempts to settle further FRG institutions in Berlin. The efforts de facto to involve West Berlin in the national and political integration of Western Europe pursue the same design: Conferences of EC committees and events organized by the so-called Council of Europe are taking place there. It is also planned to include West Berlin in the direct elections to the so-called European Parliament. Lastly I am bound to point out the demands and practical efforts of the FRG (in contradiction to the quadripartite agreement) in principle to extend to West Berlin all international treaties concluded by the country with other nations.

None of these or any of the many similar events represent merely the sum of individual instances. Not only the amplitude of such actions, the official statements of authoritative FRG agencies also leave not the slightest doubt that these are actions designed to realize a fundamental political conception amounting to the actual revision of the principles of the Four-Power agreement.

The text and the antecedents of the preceding negotiations regarding the Four-Power Agreement quite clearly demonstrate the decisive principle (re-affirmed by the agreement) governing the relationship between West Berlin and the FRG: The city does not belong with the sovereign territory of the FRG nor is it subject to FRG governing authority. In this meaning Part II, section B of the agreement explicitly states that the maintenance and development of relations between West Berlin and the FRG "must take into account" the fact that West Berlin "continues not to be part of the Federal Republic of Germany nor to be governed by it." In other words: The relations between West Berlin and the FRG can be organized only on the basis and within the scope of this principle, and those FRG competences provided by the quadrilateral agreement (especially appendix IV). The FRG actions cited before are in no way justified by the provisions of the Four-Power Agreement; on the contrary, they are in direct conflict with these provisions.

Of course these facts are not unknown in the FRG. Precisely for that reason people there are now developing an interpretation of the quadrilateral agreement, which turns matters completely upside down. Just lately these efforts have reached their apex in the doctrine of the "Federal Land Berlin," most emphatically proclaimed by official FRG spokesmen on various occasions.<sup>7</sup> This doctrine had earlier been put forward in the Federal Constitutional Court's verdict, issued on 31 July 1973, on the basic treaty between the GDR and the FRG.<sup>8</sup> This runs as follows:

"At the present time the Federal Republic consists of the Laender enumerated in article 23 GG [FRG Constitution--author's comment], including Berlin; the status of the Land Berlin of the Federal Republic of Germany is reduced and affected merely by the so-called reservation of the governors of the Western powers."

These assertions and all their elements are in crass conflict with the historical facts and the situation in international law.

That applies initially to the allegation regarding the status of Berlin which is defined as a Land of the FRG merely "reduced and affected by the reservations" of the Western powers. Disregarding the fact that there have never been (nor could have been) any three-power rights with respect to Berlin (any rights would of necessity have had to be four-power rights), even the Western powers themselves have not merely pronounced "reservations reducing the status" with respect to FRG claims that "Berlin" is a Federal Land. In fact they have unequivocally forbidden the inclusion of "Berlin" in the FRG. It is perfectly well known that this happened by way of the written approval the three Western military governors gave the FRG Constitution on 12 May 1949 and, quite explicitly, in the order BK/O (50) 75 issued on 29 August 1950 by the Allied Commandatura in Berlin. This suspended paragraphs 2 and 3 of article 1 of the West Berlin Constitution of 1 September 1950, because the provisions of that constitution declared "Berlin" to be a Land of the FRG and FRG legislation as binding on "Berlin." Even West Berlin--let alone "Berlin"--has therefore never been part of the FRG, and the Four-Power Agreement

stated with complete justification that West Berlin "as heretofore" is not part of the FRG and will, accordingly, "continue not to be governed by it."

Certain forces in the FRG and West Berlin would now like to have all this forgotten in order not to expose to the odium of an all too flagrant illegality their efforts toward the most far reaching possible incorporation of that city into the FRG, contrary to all binding international agreements on the status of West Berlin. As the FRG people are evidently quite aware that such practices cannot be justified by appeal to the verdict of the Federal Constitutional Court (quoted earlier), because the pronouncements of that court cannot change the status of West Berlin (settled by valid international agreements between the USSR, the United States, Britain and France), and because it is quite impossible to superimpose such court pronouncements on these agreements, persistent attempts are made to misinterpret the quadrilateral agreement as such.

To that end these people are straining to convert the text of the treaty into its exact opposite by trying to create the impression that the decisive principle for West Berlin's relation to the FRG is not the statement of its nonmembership in the FRG but, conversely, the approval of the expansion of its relationship with the FRG.<sup>9</sup> By the help of this maneuver and in direct contradiction to the text and spirit of the Four-Power Agreement the doctrine is put forth that, regarding the expansion of FRG competences in West Berlin, the formula may be applied: "That is allowed which is not explicitly forbidden."<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately the champions of such an attitude are unable to explain why the authors of the Four-Power Agreement took the trouble, in the course of stubborn and complex negotiations lasting for many months, precisely and in great detail to establish FRG power with respect to West Berlin in appendix IV to the agreement.

The claim to "Berlin" as a Federal Land of the FRG represents not merely the clearly illegal attempt to extend the FRG's sovereignty to West Berlin. This claim in fact amounts to a direct attack on the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the GDR, because its capital is asserted to be a part of the FRG. One must seriously ask whether the authors and champions of the doctrine "Federal Land Berlin" are really aware of the full enormity of this juridical aggression against the GDR and its injurious effects not only on relations between the GDR on the one hand and the FRG and West Berlin on the other, but also on the entire political atmosphere in Europe, and what in fact they expect to achieve by a political attitude which is in complete contrast to the actual conditions nor has the faintest chance of realization, but may succeed only in producing new political tensions and conflicts.

Obviously to distract attention from the portentous infractions of international law implied in the claim that "Berlin" is a Federal Land and the efforts for the maximum integration of West Berlin in the FRG, more and more attempts have recently been made in the FRG and West Berlin to describe GDR actions (representing the exercise of legitimate sovereignty in its capital) as alleged infractions of the so-called "status of Berlin." It is therefore commonly alleged that the quadrilateral agreement of 3 September



1971 applies also to the capital of the GDR and therefore certain so-called four-power rights and responsibilities are still in effect for that city. In this connection let us recall especially the Federal Government's reply to the major inquiry of the Bundestag CDU/CSU group (of 4 April 1977)<sup>11</sup> regarding "inner-German policy" and the declaration by von Dohnany, minister of state in the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to the Bundestag on 15 September 1977.<sup>12</sup> Even the joint declaration issued by the three Western powers and the FRG on 9 May 1977 speaks of a "special territory Berlin" and of the "rights and responsibilities" of the four powers "concerning Germany as a whole and all four sectors of Berlin."<sup>13</sup>

All these doctrines ignore the actual situation and development in Central Europe as well as the most elementary principles of international law. To begin with they studiously disregard the fact that, for the longest time, there has been neither a "Germany" nor a "Berlin" to which the four-power rights and responsibilities could refer. We have an obvious throwback to a formula from the Paris treaties of 1954, which even then amounted to a statement of only the three Western powers and the FRG and no longer has the slightest relevance to the real situation which is that there is on the one hand the GDR and its capital Berlin, on the other the FRG and West Berlin, administered by the occupation forces and enjoying a special political status. It is consonant with this situation that none of the pronouncements issued in recent years by all four powers mentions rights and responsibilities referring to "Germany as a whole" or to "Berlin."<sup>14</sup>

Concerning "Berlin" in particular, everybody is perfectly aware that no united city of Berlin has existed since 1948. Especially the border security measures adopted by the GDR on 13 August 1961 made it quite explicit to the world at large that the GDR's capital is an integral element of that state, and that a border divides it from West Berlin. This situation is daily acknowledged in practice as well as respected by the FRG and the three Western powers. It has in addition been underlined and reaffirmed by the fact that all nations entertaining diplomatic relations with the GDR, including the three Western signatory powers of the Four-Power Agreement, have established their diplomatic missions to the GDR in its capital--Berlin. Nobody in the West now has any serious doubt that the GDR--and only the GDR--exercises sovereignty in its capital.

If, therefore, the preamble to the Four-Power Agreement of 3 September 1971 explicitly states that the signatory countries have agreed this treaty "in consideration of the existing situation in the region," they have clearly taken into account the actual development. Only on this basis was it even possible for the four powers to negotiate about West Berlin. Therefore also the Soviet side repeatedly pointed out in the course of negotiations that the situation of the GDR could not possibly be the object of any agreements whatsoever among the four powers.<sup>15</sup> Convincing evidence is furnished by the fact that Ambassador P.A. Abrasimov, the USSR representative at the negotiations preparing the quadrilateral agreement, unequivocally indicated that the Four-Power Agreement would apply to West Berlin only.<sup>16</sup>

Any other interpretation would be bound to be shipwrecked also on the generally acknowledged principle of international law, according to which international treaties are unable to stipulate either rights or duties for third (that is nonparticipating) countries (article 34 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties of 23 May 1969). Any extension of the Four-Power Agreement to the capital of the GDR would, furthermore, represent a serious infraction of the basis principles of international law concerning the sovereign equality of states and the prohibition of interference (article 2 Nos 1 and 7 of the U.N. Charter, the 25th U.N. General Assembly declaration on the principles of international law of 24 October 1970--Resolution No 2625/XXV--and the final act of Helsinki, (principles I, IV and VI).

The exclusive application of the quadrilateral agreement to West Berlin is also clearly reflected in the agreement itself. Nowhere is the term "Berlin" used to describe its scope, nor does it contain any provisions relating or applying in any way whatsoever to the capital of the GDR. On the contrary, the core of the agreement, specifying the precise accords of the signatory countries, is specifically headed: "Provisions applying to the Western sectors of Berlin."

All this shows how totally untenable are the assertions of an alleged applicability of the Four-Power Agreement to the GDR capital also. We are bound, therefore, to agree with the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE which considers inadequate the arguments put forward by van Well, state secretary in the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs, insofar as they assert that the application of the quadrilateral agreement to the GDR capital arises from the "structure" of that agreement. DIE PRESSE points out that the practical effects of the Four-Power Agreement are confined to West Berlin exclusively because, after all, the security of that city had been the motivation of the agreement.<sup>17</sup>

Finally we must most emphatically stress the point that it is in direct contradiction to the declared design of the Four-Power Agreement (that is to encourage "the removal of tensions and the prevention of complications"--Part I No 1--), to impute to it a meaning which would make it a virtual tool for producing new tensions in Europe resulting from attacks on the sovereign rights and the territorial integrity of the GDR.

Untenable though the doctrines of "Federal Land Berlin" and the application to the GDR capital of the quadrilateral agreement may be, and however much they contradict the facts of the matter and the legal situation, they are yet extremely dangerous to the political development in Europe, the good neighborly relations of the nations and peoples in Central Europe, and the interests of West Berlin and its citizens.

It is quite understandable that the GDR especially attentively and with concern watches all efforts aiming at removing or even reversing the designs and effects of the Four-Power Agreement, which serve the detente in the political situation in Europe. By its consistent peace policy and readiness to come to

an understanding the GDR has made a significant contribution to the conclusion and the subsequent beneficial results of the quadripartite agreement, and it steadily continues to champion its unreserved implementation. It cannot remain indifferent to the attempts to infringe its sovereign rights by illegal and unjustified interpretations and applications of the Four-Power Agreement or to effect changes in the status of West Berlin, which, in view of West Berlin's geographical location, cannot help injuring the interests of the GDR.

Especially in fulfillment of the obligations accepted by our state--as well as by the signatory countries of the Four-Power Agreement and the FRG--in the final act of Helsinki, the GDR will continue in future also constructively to help the implementation of the quadripartite agreement and, therefore, the maintenance and further expansion of its positive effects. Accordingly it will always firmly oppose all misrepresentations and the undermining of this agreement, all attempts to test its "load capacity," and it will emphatically point out the risks and possible consequences of such actions. In his speech of 25 September 1977 Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, said that anyone attempting to undermine the core of the Four-Power Agreement should reflect that this might put at risk the benefits and positive developments coupled with the agreement.<sup>18</sup> With this warning Erich Honecker linked the emphasis on the GDR's firm resolution to continue championing the positive development in this region. The GDR is interested in the cultivation and expansion of normal relations with West Berlin, in the creation of a favorable climate for these relations. It has therefore submitted appropriate proposals to the West Berlin Senate. At the same time, and quite naturally, it expects a similar attitude from the Senate and all others involved.

In complete agreement with the other countries of the socialist community the GDR considers the consistent advocacy of the strict observance of the Four-Power Agreement an essential element of its policy of peace and detente and an important contribution to the implementation of the final act of Helsinki.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See E. Honecker, speech at the opening of the 1977/1978 party indoctrination year in Dresden, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 17 September 1977.
2. See A. Gromyko, speech to the 32d U.N. General Assembly, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 28 September 1977.
3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 30 September 1977.
4. See Bucharest Declaration of the Warsaw Pact countries on 26 November 1976, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 27/28 November 1976.

5. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 27 September 1977.
6. See BULLETIN DES PRESSE- UND INFORMATIONSAMTES DER BUNDESREGIERUNG No 49/1977, p 499; report by the West Berlin Senate on the implementation of the Four-Power Agreement and the supplemental agreements for the period 1 June 1976 to 31 May 1977.
7. State Secretary G. Hartkopf, Federal Ministry of the Interior, 23 May 1977 (DIE WELT, Hamburg, 24 May 1977), Parliamentary State Secretary G. Baum of the same ministry to the Bundestag, and so on.
8. Verdict 2 BvF 1/1974, Section III, 1.
9. See CDU Bundestag deputy von Wrangel, DEUTSCHLAND-UNION-DIENST, 24 May 1977.
10. See D. Stobbe, EUROPA-ARCHIV, Bonn, Series 15, 10 August 1977.
11. See Bundestag printout No 7/255, 4 April 1977, p 12.
12. See DER TAGESSPIEGEL, West Berlin, 16 September 1977.
13. See note No 6.
14. See the declaration by the governments of the USSR, Britain, the United States and France, dated 9 November 1972.
15. See A. Yuriyev in a commentary for Radio Moscow, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 14/15 May 1977.
16. See NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 11 March 1977.
17. DIE PRESSE, Vienna, 23 May 1977.
18. See NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Berlin, 27 September 1977.

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EAST GERMANY

HERRMANN ADDRESSES LIEBKNECHT, LUXEMBURG DEMONSTRATION

East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 0838 GMT 15 Jan 78 DW

[Address by Joachim Herrmann, SED Politburo candidate member and SED Central Committee secretary, given at the Berlin-Friedrichsfelds Memorial on the occasion of the 59th anniversary of the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg--live]

[Text] Dear men and women of Berlin, dear friends and comrades: As every year, we are now demonstrating at the graves of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg who were cowardly murdered by the reaction on 15 January 1919. We are meeting here to commemorate the great pioneers of the Revolutionary German Workers' Movement. What they have done for our cause will remain unforgotten.

This demonstration at the memorial of the socialists, which has become a tradition for decades, simultaneously is our confession of solving the tasks of the socialist revolution of our days. In doing this we will best fulfill the legacy of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

It is our firm will continuously to strengthen our socialist state of workers and peasants, the German Democratic Republic, and its political, economic, and intellectual potencies. In an alliance with the Soviet Union and all fraternal countries, we want to make our contribution to further increase the power and radiating force of socialism in order to promote in this way the process or revolutionary renovation of the world. We shall always be at the side of all those who are fighting against imperialism and all enemies of socialism, peace, and the right of man for happiness, welfare, and humanity.

Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg had been killed insidiously that day 59 years ago because they were advocating a new world, a world without exploitation and oppression. They were not the only victims of counterrevolutionary terror, but the particularly blind hatred of reaction was directed at them because they clearly and determinedly pursued the fight of the German working class for power. The conquering of power is decisive. This is the soul of the fight, said Rosa Luxemburg to the revisionists who wanted to distract the German proletariat from the course of the revolutionary class fight.

It was in the stormy days of the German November revolution when Karl Liebknecht, here in today's capital of the German Democratic Republic, proclaimed the socialist republic. At that time reaction could strangle the historically necessary development toward socialism and drown it in blood. It was impossible though to eliminate the work of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg: The Communist Party of Germany they established, the cause of proletarian solidarity for which they fought, and the cause of the socialist republic they proclaimed. Liebknecht's [slogan] "Despite All This" is unforgettable.

Whatever has been necessary since that time in the way of hard class fights, whatever hard sacrifices had to be made by the working class, whatever unyielding steadfastness was demanded from the revolutionaries in the fight, the program of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg is living, it lives in our socialist fatherland.

It was said in the appeal on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the German Democratic Republic that first of all our republic is the legacy and fulfillment of the fight of all our republic is the legacy and fulfillment of the fight of the Revolutionary German Workers' Movement which lasted more than for 100 years, of the League of Communists, the revolutionary German social democracy, and the Communist Party of Germany. They prepared the soil for our socialist fatherland. We are implementing [the ideas] for which such people as Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, August Bebel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Klara Zetkin, Franz Mehring, Ernst Thaelmann, and Rudolf Breitscheidt have been working.

In 1978 the German Democratic Republic is a dynamic and forward orientated socialist country with highly developed industry and agriculture, a modern education system, efficient science, rich culture which is closely linked to the people, and an exemplary social system. In this way our socialist republic is demonstrating daily that only socialism is in a position to solve the basic problems of our times in the interest of the people. The worker-peasant power only, said Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council on New Year's Eve, will guarantee a further stable and dynamic upward trend and the fact that the far-reaching projects always will be implemented to the benefit of the people. This inevitable connection was confirmed in its way by developments in the capitalist part of the world. Wherever capitalist profit-orientated economy is ruling, there exists no social security and safety, no secure perspective for the working people. Unemployment is increasing always, while the social and political rights of the working people are always being eliminated.

So facts in the two different social systems confirm what Rosa Luxemburg said in 1918: The implementation of the socialist social system is the most enormous task ever handled by a class and a revolution of world history. This task will be fulfilled, disregarding the furious barking of the representatives of a social system that produced the murderers of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

In the sense of our great revolutionary pioneers, we are working efficiently on the implementation of the 9th SED Congress decisions. The high development speed of our socialist production, increased effectiveness, scientific-technical progress, and the development of labor productivity serve the fulfillment of the main task aimed at a constant increase of the material and cultural level of the life of the people. Growth, welfare, and stability are and remain the guidelines of our action. Social security and safety, socialist democracy, allround development of the creative abilities of man and his personality are characteristic of our socialist society. We are implementing human rights in peace and freedom.

The beginning of this year in our republic was characterized by great initiative of the working class, of collective peasants, the intelligentsia, and other working people. They are producing new work deeds in preparation of the 30th SED anniversary. They have set themselves high targets for the 1978 plan year and beyond that. Intensification, rationalization, and high quality are the center of their efforts in order to achieve the highest possible effectiveness. Competition programs demonstrate the determination of fulfilling the ambitious tasks in the fields of national economy and all other social fields and of overfulfilling them according to plan. In this way we are continuing our tested policy, coming a great deal closer to the five-year-plan targets prior to the jubilee of our socialist state.

Dear friends and comrades, in this particular place we are renewing, at the beginning of every new year, our determination also in future to make our contribution to preserving and further strengthening peace. The policy of the German Democratic Republic is clear. It is aimed at guaranteeing peace, security, and cooperation along the lines of the treaties concluded and the Helsinki Final Document. Erich Honecker said on New Year's Eve that according to our will, the chain of peaceful years never should be discontinued. We are pursuing this target together with the Soviet Union, the other fraternal countries, and all peace-loving forces of the world.

We are developing our relations with numerous capitalist countries according to the principles of peaceful coexistence, that are the norms of international law, respect for sovereignty and noninterference in domestic affairs. Peace in Europe and in the world needs constructive policy. It needs the policy of detente and its expansion from the political field to the military field. In order to achieve that, it is necessary to torpedo the concept of NATO's arms fanatics and implement effective steps toward arms limitation and disarmament.

On the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet Union pointed out the way in its appeal addressed to all people. Emphasis was put on the fight against the development of mass annihilation means, particularly against the production of the neutron bomb. For this purpose protest can be heard throughout the world. The citizens of our republic announced their firm will of doing everything in order to implement the Moscow appeal and successfully continue our joint peace program.

This includes that socialism, the main force of peace, its achievements, and the peaceful work of the people must be reliably protected at any time. As long as there exists an imperialist threat, we will remain vigilant and increase our defense preparedness. As in the past, the achievements of the people of the German Democratic Republic will be reliably protected by our National People's Army and the other armed forces.

Men and women of Berlin, the socialist patriotism of our people is insolubly linked with the people's internationalist stance. In doing this, too, we are acting in the spirit of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. We shall continue strengthening our alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community. We shall develop our cooperation in order to give new strength to the cause of social progress in the whole world.

From this demonstration we greet fraternally the working class in the countries of capital, which is involved in hard fights against growing burdens emanating from the crisis and for defending basic democratic rights of the working people. We greet the victorious movements in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, the Congo, and Benin. We greet the heroic fighters of the Ethiopian revolution and all forces which have turned the African continent in a continent that has set out into a new world and into a new age. All people fighting for freedom and independence, against imperialism, colonialism, and racism in Africa, Asia, and Latin America can be certain of the solidarity of the German Democratic Republic. Again we are raising our voice in demanding freedom for the Chilean patriots imprisoned and deported by the Pinochet clique. We greet all brave fighters of the UNIDAD popular. We are fully supporting the demand of the people for a solution of the Mideast conflict through the complete withdrawal of the Israeli aggressor from the occupied Arab territories, and for the right of the Palestinian people for self-determination, including its right to set up an independent state.

Dear friends and comrades, in the spirit of Karl and Rosa we will jointly do everything to carry out our revolutionary duty. The tasks we have set ourselves are great and beautiful. They are worthy of our socialist cause. By solving them we will do justice to our historic responsibility and serve the interests of our people and those of the other people.

Long live the fight for peace, democracy, and social progress in the entire world! Long live Marxism-Leninism! Long live our socialist German Democratic Republic! Follow the course of the 9th SED Congress! Forward to new successes! [Applause]

CSO: 2300



EAST GERMANY

SED'S LAMBERZ RELATES IMPRESSIONS OF MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA TRIP

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 11 No 1, 1978 signed to press 23 Dec 77  
pp 3, 4 AU

[Unattributed interview with Werner Lamberz, member of SED Central Committee Politburo, on his trip to African and Arab countries: "Steadfast For the Cause of Progress"]

[Text] HORIZONT: In early December you were again in some states of Africa and in the Arabic region. Was there a particular reason for this or was it, so to speak, "only" the normal cultivation of our good relations with the peoples and governments in these countries?

Werner Lamberz: When you put the question this way, I must reply with "as well as" we do indeed maintain particularly good close relations with a number of African and Arab states. We are finding this quite natural now even though they are the outcome of the extraordinary transformations which have taken place and which in part are not so remote at all. Revolutionary transformations which for the first time in history have brought the peoples' forces to power there, forces who regard us, i.e., the states of the socialist community which include last but not least the GDR, as their natural allies. The progressive African and Arab countries attach great value to this alliance and we do, too, and it was in that spirit that this trip also involved specific measures, agreements and joint deliberations on the further development of mutual relations.

A specific feature of the trip which I undertook as a special ambassador of Erich Honecker, our party's general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, was that there existed a desire to discuss topical developments in the Middle East and the African Horn with the leading personalities of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, [PDRY], socialist Ethiopia and of the socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah and to thus obtain knowledge subsequently useful for the policy of our countries.

HORIZONT: At first sight rather different problems appear to be involved in these three countries.

Werner Lamberz: There are naturally differences even in the geographical data, with respect to population figures, state of development, and economic potentials and possibilities. But there also exist essential common features. All three belong to the progressive states of that region, in terms of both their domestic and foreign policies. Every one of them in its own way constitutes a significant revolutionary power and inspires the progressive forces of the entire continent. All three are currently exposed to particularly insidious and violent attacks by the imperialist and reactionary forces. One must greatly respect how these peoples and their leaderships valiantly withstand this pressure and steadfastly serve the cause of progress.

HORIZONT: Hence our readers would be interested in your specific impressions. What is the situation in the PDRY?

Werner Lamberz: I must admit to you that I am continually filled with admiration for that people, who with great energy are unswervingly treading their path in a dreary landscape on the narrow but extremely important edge of the Arab Peninsula. I do not hesitate for a moment to call this state in that area, a genuine lighthouse of freedom and hope for the peoples.

When we were visiting, the country had just commemorated the 10th anniversary of its independence. Even though at one time the former Crown Colony Aden was one of the most important bases of the British Empire, one cannot but be dumbfounded by the indescribably poverty in which this "great" colonial power let the people live, nay, vegetate there. Whoever has seen what the proud bourgeois nations have done to those people whom they ruled for ages and shamelessly exploited for centuries knows the real value of the hypocritical babble of capitalist politicians about human rights.

The revolutionary and progressive forces which are also slandered by the former exploiters, have done for their country and their fellow citizens more in the few years of freedom than had been achieved in the preceding centuries. This particularly also applies to the PDRY. We saw, among other things, an exhibition in the capital where for the first time the great achievements of this decade were presented to everybody in a concentrated manner. We can be very proud of the friendship with this country. The trustful talks which we conducted with General Secretary Abd al-Fattah; President Ali Salim Rubayyi; and Prime Minister Ali Nasir Muhammad Hasani once more reaffirmed full agreement between our countries.

HORIZONT: You referred to the slanders to which the revolutionaries are exposed. Does this not apply also particularly to Ethiopia?

Werner Lamberz: Yes, you are absolutely right. Every day those people who formerly benevolently supported and aided the most shameless oppression by the feudal regime there and who were so much blinded by the imperial splendor that they had no eyes left for the peoples' misery are clamoring about the alleged "reign of terror of the revolutionaries and Addis Ababa."

While they are writing these jeremiads with one hand, they are dishing out with the other the pay for the white terror, for the hired killers who are being dispatched every night to slaughter the activists of the Ethiopian revolution. That hand also dishes out the pay for the invaders from abroad who are to mangle the body of the Ethiopian revolution, and naturally these individuals do not waste a glance on all that the revolution has given the people.

HORIZONT: We read that the delegation went to all those places where according to Western mass media reports, complete chaos prevails. How did you find the situation there?

Werner Lamberz: Quite excellent. I naturally understand that to some people, the fact, for example, that tens of thousands of people enthusiastically welcomed a delegation of our party, German revolutionaries, in the capital of the Ethiopian province of Kaffa (which, as a matter of fact imparted its name to coffee) provides a sufficient reason for regarding this as a genuine chaos. Until a few years ago they succeeded in concealing from the African masses in general the existence of a socialist German state, and now this state has become in the shortest time possible the friend and brother of the revolutionary masses, a symbol of the international solidarity between the African peoples struggling for their freedom and real socialism.

Portraits of Marx and Lenin in the streets of Jimma and in the fields in a tropical setting, hand-made posters with slogans and cheers to the Soviet Union, the GDR, our ninth party congress and to Erich Honecker, our party's general secretary--this naturally must frighten every decent bourgeois who has believed until yesterday that black Africa would remain for all eternity a bulwark of ignorance and hence also the domain of the exploiters.

During this visit to Kaffa Province we felt the vigorous beat of one of the main arteries of the Ethiopian revolution: The peasants liberated from the feudal yoke, ambitiously working the land given to them by the revolution, land which they will never again return and will defend with every possible means, rifles, spears, hoes or cudgels, whatever the case at the cost of their lives, and this applies to both men and women.

We were particularly impressed by the determination of the women, who are obviously also ready to employ the sword-like tools which they use for weeding if the fields of freedom should be threatened by reactionary weeds.

HORIZONT: You refer to one main arterial road. What about the others?

Werner Lamberz: The other important force is the working masses in the cities who are rallying round the new revolutionary power organs, the Kebele. On the basis of nationalized property, there also is developing a more extensive alliance among proletarian, semi-proletarian and petit-bourgeois residents, among the working class, craftsmen, tradesmen, and other town middle strata.

We witnessed precisely in Addis Ababa how the organization of this revolutionary administration, which started in the residential areas, has in the meantime, via the city ward administrations, also reached the supreme body of the capital. For the first time in its history the Ethiopian metropolis has a democratic city administration created by the people and an elected major.

HORIZONT: Hence the revolutionary process is advancing well?

Werner Lamberz: Should you mean by "well" "without difficulties" I could not agree with this. Quite the contrary; the Ethiopian revolution is threatened by many dangers, a war on several fronts has been forced on it militarily, attempts are being made to cut it off from the sea, and in the interior the counterrevolution wants to cause insecurity and disorganization with terror. Hence it requires great efforts on the part of the Dergue and of all progressive and nationally conscious forces to ward off the dangers.

HORIZONT: You mentioned Dergue; are you referring to the Provisional Military Administrative Council?

Werner Lamberz: Yes, this is the official name, but also our abbreviation, PMAC still is a bit too complicated for common usage. The amharic word dergue, which means council, is often used in Ethiopian and this concept like the Russian word Soviet--could well enter the internationalist dictionary of the revolutionaries as an enrichment.

HORIZONT: The question of a revolutionary party has been discussed in Ethiopia for some time now. Have there been any recent new developments?

Werner Lamberz: This question played a very particular role in our extensive discussion with Comrade Mengistu and other leading representatives.

The Ethiopian comrades realize the stringent need for a united political force capable of leading the masses in combat, of consolidating the national democratic system and of safeguarding its socialist orientation. The difficulties, properly speaking, consist chiefly in that legal parties and democratic organizations have never existed in Ethiopia, and that the process of the formation of forces is naturally made difficult by the attacks of external aggression and the counterrevolution.

We also were able to note progress with respect to another important political problem, the nationality problem, Ethiopia has 112 nationalities. Under the imperial feudal regime they were oppressed by the Amharic feudal leading stratum. Currently interesting efforts are underway to give written languages to other nationalities, to define their autonomous rights and to assert them. Of course, as is well known, the national question can only be solved positively in connection with the social problem. This is what Dergue and all the progressive forces want. The feudal and imperialist reaction, however, strives to channel nationalist aspirations onto nationalist tracks and to mobilize

them against the revolution and to direct the age-old drive of the nationalities toward a free, autochthonous development against the central government in Addis Ababa. The exchange of opinions on problems which are agitating the progressive forces there and which concern our experiences has been and is useful, not only for the Ethiopian revolution, but also for all the neighboring peoples and liberation movements.

HORIZONT: You visited the PDRY and the socialist People's Libyan Arab state, two bulwarks of progress in the Arab region, immediately after the Tripoli Conference at which the two states played an important role. What is your assessment of the outcome of this meeting?

Werner Lamberz: The summit conference of Algeria, Syria, Libya, the PDRY, Iraq, and the PLO which took place upon the initiative of Col Mu'Ammar al-Qadhafi, resulted in the establishment of a genuine Arab national front, in a significant strengthening of the forces which support a just solution of the Middle East problem. The subsequent conference of the Arab peoples forces has made this likewise obvious. The enemy is very well aware of the significance of this broad unity of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism which spans from religious currents to the communist parties, and he fears it. Therefore he denigrates the resolutions of the Tripoli Conference as those of a "conference of rejection" and strives to suggest that the adversaries of peace had met there. But even the first point of the communique of the summit conference proves the contrary. What is being rejected is not at all peace but the sabotaging of a just and honorable peace and of the national rights of the Palestinians.

Thus the same objectives are involved for which the countries of the socialist community have come out for years: A solution of the Middle East conflict by the complete withdrawal of the Israeli aggressors from the occupied territories and the realization of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to establish their own state.

A solution of the conflict cannot consist in an imperialist-Zionist quasi-peace which in reality would contain the seeds of new wars, but only in a comprehensive peace settlement. This is why we have repeatedly advocated the reconvening of the Geneva Conference at which a genuine solution could be found with the participation of all the interested sides.

We regard as another important result of Tripoli the unity of the Palestinians manifested there once again before the entire world. As is known, destroying and splitting this unity was one of the main aims of the imperialist and reactionary forces in the Arab region. It became obvious in Tripoli, however, that this objective of many years of intrigues and bloody attacks was not achieved, and that the PLO as a united and combat-determined political force knows how to defend the interests of the Arab people of Palestine.

Naturally this unity of all groupings of Palestinian resistance also comprises compromise formulas on a series of important problems. But the essential

political fact, which is greatly significant for the further development, consists in the unity of the Palestinians over whose heads no settlement can be made.

The imperialists' rage is particularly great over the clearcut avowal by the Tripoli summit of "the friendship and cooperation between the Arab states on the one hand the states of the socialist camp on the other."

We were greatly impressed by the clearcut attitude of the Libyan leadership, which reaffirmed in our talks with every possible emphasis that for it, relations with the Soviet Union and the friendly socialist countries do not constitute a seasonal or tactical question but a strategic alliance based on the common interests of anti-imperialist struggle and solidarity with all national and social liberation movements.

HORIZONT: You held very intensive conversations with Col al-Qadhafi, Staff Major Jallud and Foreign Minister al-Turayki. What were your impressions?

Werner Lamberz: We were greatly moved by them, both by the clear political analysis and by the trustful, cordial and friendly attitude which the Libyan leaders, above all, Secretary General al-Qadhafi, displayed toward us and our country. We found them farsighted revolutionaries harboring great respect and sympathies for our people and state.

As far as the country is concerned, one must see clearly: A very rapid social and political development has taken place in Libya. The organs of people's power have become consolidated and have accumulated experiences. Industry--particularly oil extraction and processing, but also the textile and consumer goods production--is increasing its national economic weight. The agricultural policy, termed a "green revolution," is bearing bountiful fruit in the truest sense of the word, high increment rates have been registered in the production of wheat, barley and vegetables. The apartment building program--though bitterly necessary because of the difficult colonial and feudal heritage--is advancing at a downright stormy pace. Great progress is being scored in public education, the health service and in many other spheres.

The socialist peoples Libyan state has taken a firm position in the foremost front of the progressive African and Arab forces. It practices active solidarity with all anti-imperialist movements.

HORIZONT: Following your talks with the representatives of the socialist people's Libyan Arab state, what opportunities do you see for development of bilateral relations with the GDR?

Werner Lamberz: For many reasons we perceive very favorable prospects for our bilateral relations. This applies to all spheres. From political cooperation to close economic cooperation up to multifaceted cultural relations. Libya is a cultural land with many traditions and a flourishing modern progressive state with great potential. Therefore there exist many possibilities for expanding bilateral relations quickly and with a view to the future.

HORIZONT: Enemy mass media frequently maintain that the GDR has been profiting in its relations with Arab and African countries from the sympathy for "the Germans" which is traditional there. What is the matter with this?

Werner Lamberz: In all three countries that we visited, we met at various levels of political leadership politically very wise and clear thinking people. Naturally there can be no question of any sentimental sympathy for an ethnic community. The role of the two German states is evaluated very realistically and thoroughly, particularly in the African-Arab region. Even politicians who are not Marxist-Leninists and do not let themselves be guided by the theory of the class struggle clearly realize the contradiction between the imperialist, neocolonialist policy of the FRG and the active solidarity of the GDR with the progressive world movements. They see who indeed continues today and leads to new flourishing the humanistic traditions of the Germans, which naturally were appreciated also previously.

FRG support for the racist regime in South Africa and the Israeli aggressor, for the reactionary forces in the various African states was sharply denounced everywhere. Contrary to this, socialist Germany, our GDR, is enjoying great prestige because of our consistent opposition to colonialism and neocolonialism, because of the solidarity with the strugglers for national and social liberation deeply rooted among our people.

It can be stated in general: Wherever people are struggling for social progress, are devoting their lives to the establishment of a just system for the benefit of the working classes, people know and appreciate our socialist fatherland and feel affiliated with it. This fills us with pride but at the same time also reminds us of our great responsibility, which we bear side by side with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, vis-a-vis the revolutionary process as a whole and thus vis-a-vis every one of the millions of strugglers for the social renewal of the world.

HORIZONT: Comrade Lamberz, you visited several African countries in early, middle and now the end of 1977. Reviewing this year, how would you describe the development on that continent?

Werner Lamberz: The revolutionary development in Africa has continued in 1977 at a downright breathtaking pace. We see ahead of us a continent in a state of upsurge. This becomes particularly evident when one recalls how strong were the imperialist hopes--to retain a firm grip, at least on that continent--even a few years ago.

The political struggle has acquired new characteristics by the fact that many countries are increasingly consciously leaning on the alliance with the socialist states in the defense of their independence, and in their struggle for equality of rights, full sovereignty and unrestricted assertion of the people's right to self-determination. The number and strength of the Marxist-Leninist parties have increased. I list only Mozambique, Angola, the Congo and Benin. There have been clear advances toward positions of scientific socialism in other progressive liberation movements.

The struggle of the African states for liberation from the economic domination of imperialism and their influence in the UN organizations have gained strength--to the dismay of the imperialists. All this has elicited counteractions of the imperialist powers. The class struggle has exacerbated; imperialism and the reaction have resorted to the weapon of individual terror; I list only the names of N'gouabi, Jumblatt and al-Hamdi murdered by the reaction.

In this situation the GDR was able to considerably help strengthen the alliance between socialism and the revolutionary movements in Africa. We have intensified our solidarity this year. Our economic relations with the countries of the black continent have increased many times over. We have augmented the number of specialists whom we are training in our countries and dispatching into those countries. In 1977 there were more contacts than ever with African revolutionary politicians, among which the meetings of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, with the representatives of African parties and states should be mentioned in the first place.

All in all: The year 1977 has brought historical progress on the African continent. We shall do whatever is within our strength to solidaristically support our comrades, our friends, our fellow strugglers under the southern sky, in consolidating and continuing this progress in 1978 and throughout the future.

CSO: 2300



## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

GDR-ITALY SOCIETIES' AGREEMENT--Berlin--On Monday Senator Riccardo Romano, general secretary of the Italy-GDR Society, and Dr Heinrich Toeplitz, president of the GDR-Italy Society of the League for Friendship Among Peoples signed in Berlin an agreement on cooperation between both societies in 1978. It will be geared to the deepening of friendship between the peoples of Italy and the GDR and thus of the process of detente in Europe. Last year the cooperation of the societies enabled many Italian citizens to get to know the GDR's development and policy. Besides many other events and exhibitions, a GDR week was held in the Apulia region of southern Italy. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1755 GMT 16 Jan 78 LD]

WIDF ON INDOCHINA--Berlin--The Women's International Democratic Federation [WIDF], which is based in Berlin and has 123 national affiliates, has expressed its deep unease at the border conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia and affirmed its "solidarity with the heroic struggle of the peoples of Indochina for their liberation from imperialist aggression and for peace in this region of Asia. We sincerely hope that the border conflict between Vietnam and Cambodia can be settled along the lines of the proposals by the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, by peaceful negotiations and by paying attention to equality, sovereignty, independence and friendship." At the same time the WIDF hopes that the traditional friendship between the Vietnamese and Cambodian people "will be preserved so that all the gains made by these peoples may be strengthened and consolidated," the WIDF statement says. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1502 GMT 16 Jan 78 LD]

CSO: 2300

JOURNAL COMMENTS ON CARTER VISIT TO POLAND

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 1, 7 Jan 78 p 11

[Article by Henryk Zdanowski: "Aftermath of President's Visit"]

[Text] When President Jimmy Carter was asked at a press conference in Warsaw about the probability of a trip to the Near East still during the course of his current foreign trip, he said: "We are going to try to maintain flexibility in our plans..."

1. I will begin my commentary on the president's Polish visit by recalling this not in order to write about how Carter later promised that he would nonetheless go to Egypt, but in order to emphasize the significance of the concept of flexibility in international policy in general, particularly in top-level meetings.

The U.S. ambassador in Warsaw distributed among journalists an elegantly printed detailed program of Jimmy Carter's visit, which among other things called for the president to visit the Sejm at 1:15 on 29 December, to meet alone with Edward Gierek at 1:30, and to have a working lunch with a larger group at 1:40. Meanwhile, the meeting between the two leaders was drawn out for nearly 2 hours, because their talks became more important than a fixed time schedule and the diplomatic protocol. The result of this bilateral flexibility was that in his address at a reception in the palace of the Council of Ministers, Jimmy Carter said on the subject of that meeting with Edward Gierek: "We have already become close friends. I have learned from him some things which I can use in my own country."

In diplomacy, starting at a certain level upward there is the practice that the advisers of ministers, heads of government, and so on, prepare for them the texts of addresses which are to be given on various occasions. It is just such an address which President Carter gave after landing at the airport in Warsaw. He also had such a draft prepared for the reception at the palace of the Council of Ministers, but he put the speech in his pocket and said: "...I know perhaps now better than before that nations like yours and the Soviet nation will never begin a war..."

"We have become friends," "I have learned some things," "I know now better than before" are important statements, because they show that a direct, frank exchange of views at this level brings real results, at least in the sphere of mutual understanding. At the reception Edward Gierek said: "Mutual understanding and mutual trust are needed. It is only in such an atmosphere that it is possible to develop constructive, friendly international cooperation."

2. Before the trip of Jimmy Carter, the Reuter's Washington correspondent expressed the view that the issue of detente between East and West, especially the matter of strategic arms and a reduction of armed forces and weapons in Europe, would take an important place in the talks in Warsaw, because of the role which Poland plays in the countries of the socialist block.

Indeed, a decisive factor in defining Poland's place in the world is its membership in the socialist community and its close, comprehensive alliance with the Soviet Union. In the American conceptualization of relations towards the socialist community there was at one time the doctrine of "driving a wedge" between the USSR and the various countries of Eastern Europe. Some politicians hold with this to this day, after all, but in Warsaw President Carter expressed his recognition of the role and political power of Poland just as an ally of the Soviet Union. At the press conference he said: "...An issue to which Poland could contribute would be the still greater improvement of relations which we are working out with the Soviet Union." The president also referred to the "natural and historical friendship" between Poland and the USSR, and he said that this friendship "is the basis upon which Poland can contribute to additional cooperation and agreements between us and the Soviet Union."

It must be emphasized that here it is a question of key significance for the process of detente. In this address Edward Gierek said: "The dialogue between the two powers (USSR and U.S.) today is determining the general climate of international relations and protecting mankind from the catastrophe of nuclear war. Hence, they bear special responsibility for world peace."

But, as the further words of Edward Gierek imply, Poland's contribution to this dialogue consists, among other things, of the fact that during the talks with the president our leader formulated a concrete position for all the socialist community concerning Soviet-American deliberations on the subject of nuclear weapons, with emphasis on what our nation considers particularly important. "Today when the danger of the proliferation of these weapons and the introduction of new weapons of mass destruction greater than ever before, we appeal to reason, and we are calling for an end to this dangerous phenomenon and for the bolstering and expansion of a system of relationships to protect us from them. Remembering, Mr President, that you spoke about this, we believe that maximum attention will be given to this. We fully support Leonid Brezhnev's initiative in entering into an agreement on the mutual renunciation of nuclear arms production."

Edward Gierek's reference to "maximum attention" means that Jimmy Carter expressed understanding of Poland's position on this key matter.

3. The president is going from Warsaw to Teheran, where among others he will meet with King Husein of Jordan, who is one of the key figures in the resolution of the Near East crisis. He will visit Saudi Arabia, which also plays an important role in this crisis. He is in India, and as everyone knows the prohibition against expanding arms on the Indian Ocean is one of the points in the Soviet-American dialogue. He will later return to Europe and visit France, which is an important factor in the stability of security on our continent. He will end his trip in Brussels, which is active in the forum of the Belgrade meeting of signers of the Helsinki Final Agreement of the CSCE, and is the headquarters of the North Atlantic Pact. It was therefore good that during the first Polish stage of this politically comprehensive trip Jimmy Carter attested to his will and to a certain extent obligated himself to carry on the policy of coexistence and detente.

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CSO: 2600

BENEFITS OF DISARMAMENT, SOVIET INITIATIVES PRAISED

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 78 p 4 LD

[Article by Marian Dobrosielski, director of the Polish Institute for International Affairs: "Reforging the Swords"]

[Text] Warsaw--The arms race unleashed and urged on by the imperialist, reactionary, anticommunist forces has reached unprecedented dimensions. Arms expenditures, according to UN figures, amount to \$350 billion a year. Almost 100 million people are linked with the creation of means of destruction. The arms race swallows up an enormous proportion of man's material and intellectual resources. The world now spends 60 times more on teaching a soldier the ABC's of destruction than it does on teaching a child the science of creation.

An enormous potential of mankind is diverted from peaceful building. Incredible stockpiles of material assets are accumulated for purposes of destruction and devastation and for the obliteration of the achievements of civilization and life itself. And this at a time when not only individual countries and continents but the whole world is faced with urgent and sometimes unbelievably complex economic and social problems.

But present-day reality makes the path from understanding the absurdity and destructiveness of the arms race to taking specific steps making it possible to halt it a difficult road. Considerable efforts are needed to travel along it. Nonetheless, this is not a labyrinth with no way out. The way to disarmament is shown by the constructive proposals of the USSR, Poland, and the other states of the socialist community aimed at ending the arms race. The broad people's masses of the capitalist countries are becoming increasingly profoundly aware of the need to advance along this path.

The imperialist, reactionary circles and their lackeys, opposing the people's desire for stable peace, are disseminating dangerous "theories" alleging, for instance, that the defense of peace is served by a "from a position of strength" policy and that military might is "essential" in talks with the USSR, and that the armaments of the Warsaw Pact countries

have reached "unprecedented dimensions." Moreover, some people are trying to promote the thesis that the relaxation of political tension and the arms race can develop simultaneously without hindering each other and that militarization is necessary to stimulate economic development and scientific and technical progress, to maintain a high level of production and to reduce unemployment and so forth. As practice shows, all these "theories" and others like them are false and harmful.

In his report at the ceremonial session devoted to the 60th anniversary of Great October, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, exposed once again the myth of the so-called "Soviet threat." "The Soviet Union," he said, "is effectively concerned for its defense but it does not seek and will not seek military supremacy over the other side. We do not want to violate the approximate parity of military forces which has not formed between the USSR and the United States. But in exchange we demand that no one else should try to violate it in their favor."

One of the main provisions of the peace program adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress and further developed at the 25th CPSU Congress is the struggle to end the arms race and to turn to the reduction of arms and complete disarmament. The foreign policy of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is also directed toward attaining these goals.

The struggle to supplement political detente with military detente is one of the main tasks of the joint foreign policy of the socialist countries. Its solution is essential from the moral, sociopolitical and economic viewpoints.

Specific paths must be sought toward the conclusion of new agreements and treaties on halting nuclear weapons tests, the banning of chemical weapons and other means of mass destruction, and on the reduction of military budgets. The convening of a world disarmament conference has come up on the agenda. The proposals voiced by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev at the ceremonial session devoted to the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution to the effect that all states should reach agreement on the simultaneous ending of the production of nuclear weapons and, together with a ban on all nuclear weapons tests for a set period, a moratorium should be declared on nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes--these proposals have met with broad support. The joint proposals of the Warsaw Pact countries that all states which took part in the Helsinki Conference should conclude a treaty on not being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other and also on the nonexpansion of the number of members of existing military blocs remain on the agenda. The socialist countries have suggested that during the Belgrade meeting those taking part should exchange opinions on this question.

What socioeconomic benefit could disarmament bring mankind?

The implementation of the disarmament proposals submitted by the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community would be a specific contribution to the materialization of the relaxation of tension. The transfer of the military industry to peaceful channels is something which is possible and by no means as complicated as the defenders of imperialism and militarism try to make out. The practical experience of many countries, and particularly of the USSR, acquired since World War II shows that this problem can be resolved even in quite a short time--in a few months. In the capitalist world the main obstacle on this path, as V.I. Lenin predicted, is the opposition of those circles for whom capital investments in the military industry bring enormous profits.

Special research carried out by experts from the United Nations and the United States and other Western countries has shown that the manpower and material resources used, for instance, for the production of chemical and biological weapons, could be directed toward the creation of new types of food and the fight against diseases. The abandoning of nuclear military programs would expand the application of atomic energy for peaceful economic needs. The funds now spent on military purposes could be directed toward housing construction, environmental conservation, the prospecting and development of mineral resources, the improvement of the meteorological service and the use of geothermal and solar energy.

With total disarmament, the enormous material resources costing hundreds of billions of dollars now at the disposal of the armies--motor vehicles, tractors, aircraft, ships, thousands of airports and sea ports and so forth--could be put to the service of peaceful creative goals. The land used for firing ranges and target ranges would provide grain and other food.

Disarmament will bring benefits to all countries and peoples. It will considerably improve the raw material and energy situation and open up new opportunities for resolving problems of social progress in the developing states.

Under the new conditions the socialist countries could concentrate their efforts to an even greater degree on the implementation of bold socio-economic plans. With the reserves thus released all states of the planet would succeed in considerably increasing the efficiency of agricultural production and increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods.

It is possible to continue even further the list of favorable opportunities which disarmament would open up before mankind. But they will remain unused until the peoples of the world unite in a resolute struggle for ending the arms race and total disarmament.

This struggle, which is headed by the socialist countries, is a hard one. But the successes achieved are promising. Treaties on the prohibition of nuclear tests in three environments, on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, on the prohibition of the emplacement of weapons of mass destruction in space, on the seabed, and the ocean floor, and on the prohibition

of biological weapons are already in operation. A Soviet-U.S. agreement exists on the prevention of nuclear war. Talks are now underway between the USSR and the United States on the conclusion of a new offensive strategic arms limitation agreement. "We are quite ready to bring these talks to a successful conclusion," L.I. Brezhnev pointed out in his replies to the questions of the PRAVDA correspondent.

Even now it may be said that thanks to the policy of the USSR and the entire socialist community, much has been done to insure that the world and mankind are saved. But as long as there is a threat that conflicts will be resolved with the aid of weapons the peace-loving forces cannot rest.

The words from the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers appeal adopted at the ceremonial session in Moscow on the 60th anniversary of Great October have met with broad response on all continents: "We appeal to the peoples, parliaments and governments of all countries to do everything to halt the arms race and to set about reducing armaments and armed forces and disarmament!"

The voice of the world public is resounding increasingly powerfully, opposing the plans of the U.S. military-industrial complex to launch the production of a new weapon of mass destruction--the neutron bomb.

The specific proposals advanced at the 25th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the other fraternal parties and at the conference of European Communist and workers parties and the Soviet proposals on whose basis the 32d UN General Assembly session adopted, in particular, the declaration on intensifying and strengthening the relaxation of international tension, the many joint initiatives of the socialist countries--all these are constructive programs whose implementation will not only remove the threat of a universal war but will also create the basis of lasting peace and security for all peoples.

CSO: 1800



PZPR JOURNAL CALLS FOR GREATER INITIATIVE, SENSE OF DUTY

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 12, Dec 77 pp 45-52

[Article by Adam Sarapata: "Conscientiousness and Initiative"]

[Text] The development of our country with its achievements and difficulties shoves to the forefront some matters which are worth considering and which in turn require appropriate practical measures, the question of responsibility and shared responsibility.

The level of the responsibility and joint responsibility of the activist group, leadership cadres, and all participants in production and management has become one of the major determinants of the rate and quality of our country's socioeconomic development.

The first stage in the process of the development of a sense of responsibility is becoming aware that something should be done or something should be avoided, that something is justified and necessary because it aids in the attainment of designated goals. Thinking through the hierarchy, type, and extent of needs takes on particular importance. Without this there is the danger of dissipated energy, time, and resources on actions which do not help in translating into reality the priorities which apply in a given area or period, as dictated by the major needs of socialist construction.

To some extent the initial condition for the creation of a sense of responsibility is becoming aware of the social effects of doing or discouraging something, the satisfaction certain needs to a given extent in a given time or the failure to satisfy them. Lack of skill in foreseeing the results leads to irresponsible action. We see this in generally known everyday situations and experience, like crossing the street, driving a vehicle, regard for the set times for classes and meetings, and so on. It is incomparably more important to anticipate the effects which encompass the great burden of consequences for a larger number of people (for example, the decisions of planners, a government office, superiors).

Hence, it can be stated that the first component of a sense of responsibility is thinking through the hierarchy of goals of action and becoming aware of their desirable or adverse effects.

The second state is becoming aware that certain measures (personnel shifts, outlays, technological changes, organizational improvements, and so on) lead to the execution of the appointed task. A lack of suitable qualifications is one of the most important impediments to the creation and manifestation of a sense of responsibility. If we do not know what means lead to the goal, what the effective methods are for resolving problems, then we feel our way, and we often feel absolved and can at most complain. Still worse is the "marriage" of improper qualification to conceitedness, which often leads to action which is ineffective and harmful. An illustration here is excessive faith in the power of instruction, challenges, and appeals. A good share of superiors (like parents and teachers, after all) are convinced that the issuance of instructions, appeals, or challenges will take care of things, forgetting that they do not have the power to create desired situations, that they cannot fill their role except in conjunction with an answer to the questions of who and when, in what way, using what means.

The opposite of this ill-fated "marriage" is the wedding of qualifications to timidity. It leads to becoming aware of the significance and importance of the group and recognition of the moral authority of collective action. Recognition of one's own ability to resolve or accomplish something is a basic condition for construction action, which requires faith in one's own strengths and capabilities. Thinking through needs, awareness of priorities, appropriate qualifications will not give rise to a sense of responsibility and will for action, without faith in doing something and in the possibility of making changes and achieving effects.

There are those who feel that the results of their work depend to a great extent on them themselves. There are also those who think that the results of their actions depend largely on external factors. The former work out their own destiny. They are the authors of what they do. The latter are passively carried by the current of events and external circumstances, which usually leads to escaping from responsibility.

The people who sense themselves to be the authors of their actions are active, set up to run a continual self-evaluation of the results they have achieved, open to new ideas and improvements, anxious to engage in discussions, and inclined to review various alternative solutions. It is perhaps the idea of improving their work which awakens in them the sense of responsibility. The people who do not believe in their competence and capabilities externally relieve themselves of responsibility and are mainly concerned with avoiding the risk of failure, with seeing that they do not expose themselves or attract attention. Some of them concentrate on defensive mechanisms (for example, avoiding evaluation, discussion, control supervision), while others appear to be active and go through the whole external activity ritual without any concern for real effects. Such attitudes incline people to actions for show, public statements, empty comings and goings, an excess of meetings and briefings, recommendations with no really concrete information, and self-advertizing to hide the inadequacies of factual results and the lack of real progress.

Therefore we cannot expect responsible action from people handling responsible functions, unless they have faith in their ability to deal effectively and in their skill to control what they are doing. Such attitudes lead to avoidance of responsible decisions and the devotion of a great deal of time to actions to make things safe, and they give rise to a tendency to carry out mechanically instruction from above and to the desire to praise superiors while at the same time putting down the initiative of fellow workers. Passivity in more than one instance is hidden behind shouting.

A sense of responsibility is shaped on the basis of recognition of the causal relationship between one's own action and the actions of other people. A person who feels responsible for the effects of his own work thinks about how to expand this feeling to other people, how to exploit to this very end the convenient position of activist and superior, and therefore that of the moral trainer. Of course the structuring of a sense of responsibility requires the application of disciplinary measures and adherence to the rules of discipline. Conviction, encouragement, and motivation are necessary, but so is the obligation to carry out the conclusions which together we have become interested in carrying out. The sense of one's own responsibility does not occur without carrying out somebody else's.

"Why were you late for work?"

"The train left without me."

This is an example of reasoning which we often see. It is the train which is to blame, because it left. If it had not gotten away from me, I would not have been late for work...

"Why didn't you do that?"

"I forgot."

In the minds of many people such an explanation is justification and puts an end to the matter. But it is only the beginning of the problem.

A sense of responsibility and shared responsibility develops in situations in which responsibility is not anonymous, in situations in which people at every stage (from project to result) and every level (from the person making the decision to the person in charge) are accountable for what they do and monitored. Both the project designer and the person who evaluates the project, approves it, carries it out, and oversees the implementation, all levels and all people taking part in the preparation, undertaking, and implementation of the decision must be subject to evaluation.

A sense of responsibility and shared responsibility grows out of the soil of personal responsibility based on a concrete definition of roles and rights and not out of anonymity and generalities. Anonymous, blurred, or diluted responsibility in which nobody is personally responsible for the quality or effect of his actions leads to shifting the blame to "the system," "higher-

ups," "officialdom," or "superior bodies," weakening the sense of responsibility and creating the impression of impunity among those who are objectively responsible for a given matter. Such situations also reduce the sense of responsibility among the rest, because they have a demoralizing influence and give rise to passivity and discouragement.

Open criticism of negative phenomena is necessary to limit and eliminate manifestations of irresponsibility. This encounters resistance and blocks from those who are afraid of having the truth brought to light and of having information spread on the actual situation. We know that nobody loves to be criticized. This is all the more why criticism must be supported, its constructive models must be popularized, and we must avoid situations in which extensive absence of criticism gives its sudden accumulation a spectacular nature and deprives criticism of the aspect of a normal everyday way of improving work and bringing responsibility to bear. Criticism of shortcomings makes it easier to find answers to the question of who is responsible for a given state of affairs and to develop effective means for counteracting the occurrence of errors, which is just what the resolutions of the Ninth Party Plenum call for.

In our country one person out of every four changes his vocation. What does this phenomenon cost? Who is responsible for it? What can be done to reduce this phenomenon to reasonable dimensions? There is also great employee turnover, which makes punctual execution of tasks very difficult and reduces the quality. The way professional staff is distributed and utilized also gives rise to many reservations. What should be done to reduce economic and moral losses which we suffer in this connection? I do not think that I am mistaken in saying that the above-mentioned problems are organically related to the question of the sense of responsibility and its consistent execution.

The following factors aid in developing a sense of responsibility and shared responsibility: democratic discussion of goals, tasks, and conditions for their implementation; help and cooperation; monitoring of work and evaluation of absolutely everybody, and the open nature of such evaluation; simultaneous popularization of models of good work and public criticism of examples of poor work.

The Ninth Party Plenum mentioned and emphasized: "Criticism and self-criticism are still irreplaceable tools for counteracting weaknesses and improving the work of groups and individuals. Every echelon of ours and every organization should see that there are conditions for the development of free and open criticism and also see that there is honest self-criticism and full implementation of the Leninist requirements in this regard, because it often happens that people are anxious to criticize faults in the work of others and even exaggerate in doing so sometimes, but they find easy reasons to excuse their own mistakes and neglect."

There is no way to strengthen the role of criticism and bolster its influence in shaping a sense of responsibility without combatting the hypothesis that

criticism of various people apparently harms the good reputation of whole vocational groups. There are workers and workers, directors and directors, teachers and teachers, physicians and physicians, and scientists and scientists. There are models to popularize and facts which should be put to public criticism. Concrete criticism interferes only with those people who merit it.

One of the conditions for the development of a sense of responsibility and shared responsibility is an atmosphere which favors discussion. Some supervisors, like some parents and teachers, dislike questions, because they can be troublesome. Asking questions and providing answers to them are nonetheless among the most important factors of living together in society, of cooperation, and of progress. The situation in which there are no questions and no answers is a sign that a few people are fully satisfied with themselves, and that the majority have misgivings and doubts which having no other outlet turn into discouragement.

For example, in the opinion of certain superiors, people should not criticize plant management for a poor situation concerning physical working conditions, because, in their opinion, there are not adequate investment resources for improving them. This line of reasoning is false. There are many examples to show that in numerous instances improvement of physical working conditions does not require large financial outlays. It depends first of all on a stewardly approach and greater concern for people. On the other hand, even small investments in this area bring about a substantial increase in vocational and social activity and are economically and psychologically provitable in the short and long run. We see in the convictions of some managers and, more importantly, in practical operations, the picture of the employee who agrees to everything from the start, asks no questions (Why are we doing this? What calls for this? What sort of results will this produce? Who will benefit and how? How much will it cost? Will it ultimately pay to do this? and so on), does not criticize, and therefore is anxious to say that he "is ready." Gearing oneself to this type of attitude in employees is related among other things to a failure to appreciate the need for their information. Here is a sample of the real arguments coming from just one institution: "You are well acquainted with this matter. Therefore, there is no reason to discuss it. You are all very familiar with the circumstances." "I did not want to take up your valuable time, and this is why we have not met until today." In answer to questions as to the style of work, you can also hear answers like these: "We would have to do too much explaining, and we do not have time for this," "If we were to spend a lot of time discussing it, we would never take care of the matter," "We're here to work, not talk." Of course, discipline in carrying things out and accomplishing them is obvious. Time counts. There is no way to discuss operational decisions at length. Nonetheless, where the management style of using "orders" becomes the rule, there is no room for autonomy, or for group thinking, which is effective in structuring a sense of responsibility. Under the conditions of our regime, it cannot fulfill the tasks of a manager who treats subordinates merely as instruments, as tools, or as a means to the end. Autocracy undermines

and destroys the motivation of subordinates. It is all the harder to combat, on the other hand, because it is often hidden by correct statements concerning the value of time, the need for discipline, and the inadmissibility of methods of "levy in mass."

The mechanisms are complex. Rudeness justified by alleged initiative and skill in mobilizing people to work cannot in the long run produce good effects of work. It happens that broadly publicized initiative linked to aloofness, excessive distance, and shouting only spoils the work of others, breaks down groups, and destroys forms of democratic cooperation long in the making. We need stronger discipline in every area of work, but in order to achieve it we have to use the right methods and create a climate which encourages discipline and evokes in people what is good and what favors good work.

At a party reports and elections conference at the Katowice Steel Mill, Comrade Edward Gierek said: "The structuring of proper human relations is an extremely important task in party work. It is often a question of very complicated and complex problems. What is needed is a great deal of experience, tact, and wisdom from living, in order to resolve these issues in keeping with the social interest and the state interest, but above all we must be guided by a sense of ordinary human justice, the principle of high requirements for ourselves and others, and kindness in relationships with people. These principles are deeply rooted in the worker tradition, worker ethics, and worker aspirations. They have a lasting place in our socialist ideology... Honest people expect from us, from the party, decisiveness in combatting all manner of injustice. It is just in these honest people that we should seek support, and we should attract them to our party, to the mutual resolution of the problems which are bothering them. Refusal to agree to evil is the first step leading to active, constructive action, provided that it meets with the support of organized power: the party organization, worker self-government, trade unions, and youth or professional organization."

A group on an outing to view the splendors of the Tatras, according to an anecdote, happened to see a walker going up a hill and behaving strangely. On his shoulder he carried a sack, and every 200-300 yards he stopped, lifted up the sack, shifted it around a moment, transferred it to the other shoulder and continued on his way. Intrigued, the group decided to find out the reason for this unusual walk. The walker turned out to be a mountaineer, and the group got to talking with him. The main part of the conversation was more or less as follows:

Guide: "We have been watching you for some time as you went up that hill, and we cannot understand what you are shoving around in that sack and shifting it from one shoulder to the other."

Mountaineer: "I am carrying cats in the bag. When they start scratch me, I raise up the sack, reorganize, and then I have some peace for a little while."

So much for the story, but excerpts from statements sent in to ZYCIE WAR-SZAWY's contest "Between Us Workers" sound perfectly serious:

"But what was my pain compared to the bitter fate of the plant doomed to incessant storms and winds, because every new director cancelled the orders of his predecessor and as a rule had the rug changed in his office, and each new director began on the job by shifting partitions and buying new machines which the next one judged unsuitable. And every one considers it a point of honor to leave some sort of lasting monument to his activity."  
(Optimist)

"The management where I work is reorganizing for the tenth or twelfth time, and this time will not be the last. At the present time people say that this is the second stage of this tenth or twelfth reorganization and after this will come the third, and 6 months from now preparations will begin for the first stage of the 13th reorganization.

How long can this go on? Forever. The purpose is to make personnel changes along the following lines:

- 1) beat the weak,
- 2) eliminate actual or potential competition,
- 3) get rid of inconvenient witnesses.

The only criterion which has never been taken into account in all these changes is the qualifications and suitability of the person to perform certain duties." (Frightened employee)

Regardless of whether this description is exaggerated or not, it concerns one of the key conditions to structuring a sense of responsibility: limiting "reorganizations in depth" in favor of continual improvements based on upgraded evaluations and distribution of employees, precise definition of tasks and scope of responsibility, and continual control and mutual criticism coupled in a natural way with self-criticism.

Responsibility and shared responsibility must be learned, and must be practiced. Alone they do not come into being or become stronger. A person who has not learned how to do something well does not know what is good and what is defective, and for this reason responsibility is an empty word. To be responsible, to take on responsibility, means to assume obligations which one can and wants to carry out. The duties are handled in a reliable manner, without violating the trust of those for whom they are ultimately accomplished. It means being ready to be evaluated, even if it does not come out on the plus side.

Although some people would like things to work out this way in practice, the slogan of shared responsibility and the call for it are not supposed to help shift the blame and consequences of those who refuse to be accountable for a bad situation (the blacksmith did it, but the gypsy was hanged). Nor are they supposed to foster false solidarity or silent toleration of unsatisfactory situations.

There are those who "love" to talk about responsibility but are far from creating conditions which favor the development of a sense of responsibility. They direct units and larger groups arbitrarily. They make genuine discussion impossible, referring to idea that "in their opinion people do not want to be responsible" and "are not responsible." It is convenient to direct "irresponsible" people. It is easy to put the blame on them. They do not pose difficult questions. They do not point their finger. They do not demand accountability, and when things reach that point, they avoid naming issues.

Have you noticed that a dozen and some years ago the term "satisfactory" was a synonym for "good" and was close to it in meaning? Today it is the synonym of "adequate" or rather "less than adequate." This change in meaning, which symbolizes word inflation, is for example a way of making it sound more polite, and this is a cover for escaping from responsibility. The terms "poor" and "very poor" have gone almost entirely out of use. They do not appear in the part of the administration characterized by rosy "savoir-vivre." A glib tongue for evaluation and information may serve for a sad occurrence of irresponsibility and an indicator of conformity. The demand for responsibility and shared responsibility includes the need to revise the vocabulary. Proper use of words in keeping with their correct meaning is an inseparable component of responsibility, an essential control instrument, and a condition of effective criticism.

What do we call "ours," "our own"? Are we proud of our work, our crew, our plant, our parish, our office, and our superiors? Or sometimes do we say carelessly about the work of our hands and our minds: "we let mistakes go by"? One of the main sources of such views and attitudes -- without going into the complicated mechanism of this phenomenon -- is a sense of helplessness, which breaks or weakens the emotional bond with the workers and the plant, the group, and the institution, fosters a negative critical attitude and grumbling, evokes discouragement, and weakens the sense of responsibility.

An atmosphere of helplessness arises when tasks conflict with each other, for example, possible to accomplish in terms of quantity provided that poor quality is allowed. A sense of helplessness is fostered by a unlimited freedom of a supervisor who takes little note of the initiative of employees, gives special privileges to his favorites, does not listen to specialists, or does not ask them for their opinion at all. Whenever we hear that a supervisor "does not keep his work," "does not appreciate my work," "does not listen to our opinion," or "why should I do good work if somebody else



spoils what I have done," we are dealing with a situation in which the sense of responsibility is disintegrating.

"A matter of particularly great importance is responsibility and the offensive shaping of the climate in places of employment, in various milieus, and throughout the society," it was stated at the Ninth Party Plenum. Insofar as places of employment go, alongside the whole complex of ideological and moral training, and propaganda activity, the structuring of the climate requires intensive concern for employees and seeing that they are satisfied with their jobs and the plant. Satisfaction is not a private matter. Nothing but harm comes from the hypothesis: "The plant is for work, and not for people to be happy there," or "There always have been and always will be people who are dissatisfied," and "The person has not yet been born who can make everybody happy."

The good performance of tasks depends on popularizing a sense of responsibility, whose development depends on the way in which (and the effects) we develop attitudes towards work and evolve relations in groups, on what sort of real authority the plant or institution management has gained. These intangible factors determine among other things the rate of our country's economic and social development and the living and working conditions of each of us. It is important for work to be not solely or mainly something "for sale," but rather something which produces satisfaction from the performance of tasks which are socially useful and being justly evaluated, for it to develop the personality and provide incentive for increasingly better results, and for it to be a source of joy and not anxiety and depression, to bring about satisfaction with one's place in society and one's contribution to its collective achievements.

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PZPR JOURNAL CALLS FOR GREATER SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 52, 24 Dec 77 p 6

[Editorial Report by M.T.: "On Responsibility"]

[Text] "There are no little tables already set with our desires." We took this sentence from the very interesting lead article in the last issue (No 12) of NOWE DROGI, an article entitled "Sense of Responsibility." The article talks about how "on the way to achieving our program aspirations we have encountered serious difficulties of both an objective and subjective nature during the past few years." And it is just mainly to difficulties of a subjective nature that this article is devoted, especially to a sense of responsibility for duties performed, for respect for the rights and standards of living together in society, without any exclusions or exceptions. This subject is all the more timely in that it is being discussed at the reports and elections meetings leading up to the Second National PZPR Conference. "People who avoid responsibility feel best under conditions of organizational chaos on the job, where there is no definition of jurisdiction, where tasks are unclear, and when one's own carelessness can be hidden in the general confusion and ascribed to external conditions... At one pole there are those who work efficiently, manage wisely, and give as much of themselves as they can and have a good influence on others. At the opposite pole are those who work perfunctorily, undermine discipline and efficiency of production, and manage precipitously and irresponsibly."

The article lists the major well-known economic problems: employ discipline, work organization, fuel management, the success of production programs from the viewpoint of market needs, order on the investment front, and provision for the balance of payments. The common denominator is: "To overcome in our development the domination of extensive factors in favor of the development of intensive factors," and because "not everything can be done at once, development should be comprehensive, but at the same time it should be balanced out, based on a selection of goals and directions, and consistent focusing of means and resources. Their dispersion increases costs and delays effects."

What favors dispersion? Among other things, "ministry and sector particularism, the desire to 'acquire' at all costs new imported technology, licensing, and investment titles, which usually means many years of cooperative imports. Difficulties with inculcating and mastering new technologies in conjunction with the rising costs of cooperative imports in many instances have made it questionable whether it is realistic to rashly declare readiness for rapid 'self-repayment' of technological purchases through exports. These and other manifestations have weighed heavily both on payment pressures and on the excessive expansion of the investment front."

But in no case can we equate particularism with local initiative. "In our country there is plenty of room for healthy plant and sector ambition at both the voivodship and local levels, if they follow the principles of uniform socioeconomic policy and resulting discipline in the central plan, enriching the country's development with an additional stream of useful local initiative."

Responsibility is a question of attitudes. The article talks about the fact that we often encounter instances of apparent actions, successes calculated for show, self-advertising, and flattery of superiors. "Much could be said about beautified data, the rounding off of indices, 'improvement' of the picture of reality in reports. Unreliability in statistics and reports, and the bottling up of problems, difficulties, and failures result in very high social and economic costs. It would be hard to find greater damage than that which can be caused by a computer loaded with false information."

Responsibility is skill in sensing social moods and listening to public opinion, and it is "also readiness to listen to somebody else's views, respect for the joint wisdom of coworkers, for the knowledge and experience of the people among whom we operate. Included in our party norms and state requirements for joint activity, democracy and autonomy, collegiality, and consultations represent a method of management and administration and are the dictates of life itself... In order to operate effectively, we should plan from the beginning for room for criticism which points up the shortcomings and errors, tends towards corrections and improvements, and is the essential incentive for upgrading work, a guarantee to protect us from subjectivism and voluntarism... In the thicket of complicated problems and overlapping processes and tendencies, given the existence of many different variables which are difficult to predict or calculate exactly, it is exceptionally difficult to avoid mistakes or to make decisions which prove right for the entire duration. The art is to set things up from the start to compare with real life, with practical experience, to react in time to critical signs, to show readiness to modify decisions on behalf of genuine ultimate success..."

An exceptionally important feature of the article is the attention given to the fact that economic difficulties must be resolved in more than just the material and production sphere. "Good atmosphere at work, a sense

of law, order, and justice, objective evaluation of people which ignores side factors but is based on genuine effects of work, correct personnel decisions, genuine concern for people, and the elimination of the phenomena of favoritism, intrigue, and protectionism are proof of a sense of responsibility and at the same time an essential condition for unifying people for party and state policy." Therefore, "striving for unjustified privileges and income which is not merited by one's work and confusing public ownership or public money with personal advantage bring about serious political and moral damage." NOWE DROGI emphasizes: "belonging to the party, like holding the social mandate and management positions, means above all greater responsibility and greater duties."

The view that people expect only material effects is simplified, and it is no accident that the matter of improving the moral climate was brought up at the Ninth Party Plenum devoted to the economic maneuver. The atmosphere created by proper human relations "can make up for many everyday difficulties. The absence of it creates the threat of bitterness and apathy and weakens human motivation. Attitudes are structured not just according to earnings and the means of subsistence, although they play a very important role. People are usually internally far richer and deeper. The overwhelming majority of them have an awakened social sensitivity and a developed sense of self-esteem and values. The satisfaction which they desire is more than mere material satisfaction."

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CSO: 2600

ENGELS HONORED AS ADVOCATE OF 'CREATIVE MARXISM'

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Nov 77 p 4

[Article by Tudor Olaru: "Creative Spirit as the Essence of Marxism"]

[Text] On the 157th anniversary of the birth of Friedrich Engels, the prodigious personality and priceless work of the great revolutionary thinker and militant seem more than ever enveloped in the aura of high esteem for the man who, alongside Marx, devoted his entire genius and dedication to the cause of liberating the workers from any oppression or exploitation.

In the consciousness of the Romanian people and of all peoples of the world, the names of the two great revolutionary thinkers and militants are inseparably connected with the founding of the scientific conception of the world and society, dialectical and historical materialism, with the transformation of socialism from a utopia to a science, and with the development of the fundamental principles of scientific communism. A versatile scholar (philosopher, economist, historian and a profound student of the natural sciences), Engels independently developed a series of basic aspects of the natural sciences, political economics and revolutionary tactics. On the basis of the facts of the development of capitalist society, he envisaged a number of objective requirements and general laws of social reform and the construction of a new order, including the establishment of the proletariat as a ruling class, the takeover by society of the means of production, and the planned organization of production according to the needs of the community.

Like Marx, Engels was not only a profound thinker but also a fearless revolutionary fighter. Together they founded and led the first political, class organization of revolutionary workers and militated with ardor to consolidate the international solidarity of labor. Marxism inspired the working class with awareness of its historical mission as the most progressive and consistent force for social progress, instilled in it its boundless confidence in the victory of the revolutionary struggle, and lighted its path to political and economic power and to the construction of the new socialist order.

On the 157th anniversary of the birth of Engels, Marxism, as developed by Lenin and then further enriched by the theoretical and practical activity of the

communist and labor parties, is asserting itself as an invincible weapon of worldwide revolutionary reform. Socialism, which was a remote ideal in his time, is being realized in the continuing development of the world socialist system. All the social processes of the modern world (from the construction of the new social order in a series of countries on all continents, from the creation of dozens of independent states on the ruins of the old colonial empires, from the orientation of a number of new states toward paths of development inspired by socialism, and from the continuing development of the world communist movement and the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world to the aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism or the unprecedented proportions assumed by the peoples' struggle to assert their rights and to determine their own fate) confirm the vitality of Marxism and its ability to guide mankind toward radical innovating reforms.

As we know, Marx and Engels emphasized the study of Romanian history and of the evolution of the labor movement in Romania. They sympathized with the Romanian people's heroic struggle for unification in one national state, for the overthrow of foreign domination, and for national and social liberation.

The evolution of the labor movement in Romania was profoundly influenced by its acquisition of the ideas of scientific socialism shortly after they appeared, which was a decisive contribution to its maturity and aggressiveness and to the development of its ties with the international labor movement. Engels' contacts and correspondence with leaders of our labor movement are significant in this respect, as well as his appreciation of its first Marxist program, namely C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea's work "What Do the Romanian Socialists Want?"

A characteristic feature of our labor movement even before the formation in 1893 of the PSDMR [expansion unknown], one of the oldest Marxist revolutionary parties in the world, was its observance throughout its entire existence of the requirement so clearly formulated by Engels of viewing Marxism as "a theory of development and not a dogma to be learned by rote and mechanically repeated." As Engels pointed out, "The materialist method is converted to its opposite when it is used not as a guide to the study of history but as a ready-made pattern to which the facts and history are adjusted." This interpretation of fidelity to Marxism in the sense of its creative application to the particular characteristics of Romania and the rejection of any tendencies toward dogmatic isolation or ossification were essential factors in the success of the RCP policy and the great victories gained under its leadership in the construction of the new social order, on the principle of creative application of the theory and avoidance of stereotypes and mechanical imitations widespread in the affairs of the international labor movement.

Consistent promotion of the creative spirit and constant comparison of theory with social experience are particularly necessary now that the extent, intensity and rapidity of the changes taking place in the world, the growing diversity of the conditions under which the communist and labor parties are operating, and the solution of the new problems confronting the revolutionary forces demand careful and unprejudiced study of the socioeconomic facts and the necessities of life, the procedure in their time of the Marxist classics, who did not hesitate to review and modify any of their own conclusions when they no longer

corresponded to the new social phenomena and processes. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in this spirit, "In studying the doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin and trying to apply them, we must always bear in mind the specific historical, social and national conditions under which we are living. That is the only way we can draw correct theoretical and practical conclusions for the revolutionary struggle and the construction of the new order, the only way we can act in accordance with the general laws of social development and with experience."

For the Romanian communists Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical and practical work is a high example of the creative scientific spirit, enterprising innovating thought and broad receptiveness to all that is new and advanced. His decisive role in substantiating the directions of development of Romanian society and explaining modern social-political phenomena and processes is a notable contribution to the RCP's correlation and generalization of the experience of the socialist revolution in Romania and to the enrichment of the universal treasury of Marxist theory.

The fact that the period of the Ninth, 10th and 11th party congresses is the most successful one in Romania's whole history is in large part due to the extensive assertion of the creative spirit in party policy and activity, consistently promoted by the party secretary general. The RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism, rightly regarded as "the expression of creative Marxism in Romania," was conceived in this spirit, as well as the broad measures for the accelerated growth and modernization of the national economy and improvement of the forms of social management and organization, and uniform and harmonious series of measures for the intensification of socialist democracy, the greater enlistment of the masses in state administration, the improvement of education, and the formation of the new man.

The party's extensive political-educational effort is intended, as an essential and fundamental aim, to arm the communists and all workers with the scientific conception of the world and society (dialectical and historical materialism) and with our party's policy, and to develop the revolutionary spirit in combating all that no longer meets the new historical and social conditions and in promoting the new, in order to provide for the proper solution of the problems of socioeconomic development and the nation's steady progress on the paths of socialism and communism.

The works of Marx and Engels contain many references to the fact that the laws of morality and justice must become supreme in international relations. In the year in which we are celebrating the centenary of the independence of the Romanian state we attach particular significance to the principles pronounced by Engels to the effect that "An international movement of the proletariat is generally possible among independent nations only... international collaboration is possible only among equals," and "If international peace is to be secured, all avoidable national disagreements must be eliminated, and every nation must be independent and master in its house." These principles of staunch defense of national independence and sovereignty and of observance of every people's inalienable right to self-determination are undergoing widespread international acceptance today and constitute guidelines of modern progress.

True to the deathless ideas of Marxism, the RCP is combining the efforts to construct the fully developed socialist society with those to establish a new international economic and political order, developing friendly ties of solidarity with all socialist countries and all communist and labor parties, expanding relations of collaboration with the new independent states, with the unaligned countries and with progressive forces everywhere, and consistently promoting the Marxist-Leninist principles of international relations.

On the 157th anniversary of Fr. Engels' birth the Romanian communists and our entire people are honoring his memory by devoting all their creative powers to socialist and communist construction, thus helping to prove the correctness of Marxism and to enhance the power of attraction of socialist ideas.

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AMENDED LAW ON PREVENTIVE FINANCIAL CONTROL PUBLISHED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 134. 19 Dec 77 pp 1-7

["Republication\*" "Law No 9/1974 on Preventive Financial Control"]

[Text] The continuous development and diversification of the national economy and the expanding functions and prerogatives of decision-making cadres at all organizational levels demand strict observance of the law, the introduction of a tight system of economies, resolute combating of waste and increased efficiency in the utilization of material and monetary resources in all fields of activity.

In view of their dual status as owners of the means of production and producers of material assets, the working people active in socialist units are responsible for the careful administration of the properties entrusted to them and for the fulfillment of their obligations; they are dutybound to contribute to the complete and prompt fulfillment of all the tasks incumbent on their units and to strictly observe the law and attain optimal efficiency.

An important role in the achievement of these goals is played by preventive financial control, which must be so organized as to be able to efficiently intervene to prevent shortcomings before they have time to produce negative effects, to identify the causes of such shortcomings and to find ways to preclude them.

In the exercise of this control, highly important tasks are incumbent on the manager of the financial-accountancy department--that is, the chief accountant, who, together with the other members of the body of collective leadership, must insure that financial discipline is respected and that material and monetary resources are utilized as economically as possible.

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\*Republication on the basis of Article III of Council of State Decree No 388 of 27 October 1977, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I No 117 of 16 November 1977, giving new numbers to the articles and replacing the designation "executive committees of the peoples councils," in cases where the provisions of the law also refer to the commune and city peoples councils, by the terms "executive committees or bureaus of the peoples councils." Law No 9/1974 was published in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I No 53 of 5 April 1974.

The manager of the financial-accountancy department, the chief accountant, must take resolute steps to insure observance of legal norms and to obtain maximum efficiency in the decision-making process.

With a view to improving and perfecting preventive financial control and increasing its efficiency, the Grand National Assembly [GNA] of the Socialist Republic of Romania adopts the present law.

## Chapter I. General Provisions

Article 1. In the Socialist Republic of Romania, the role of preventive financial control is to contribute to the optimally efficient utilization of material and monetary resources, to strengthen order and to enhance the responsibility of all decision-making factors in the socialist units toward contracting and disbursing expenses.

The ministers, leaders of other central state organs, chairmen of executive committees or bureaus of people's councils, directors general and directors of centrals, enterprises and state institutions, and other leading cadres and working collectives are dutybound to insure the most economical administration of material and monetary resources and to observe the legal provisions which regulate the establishment and utilization of these resources, thus preserving public property unimpaired.

All those who contract, administer or handle material and monetary resources are entirely responsible for their rational and fully efficient utilization.

Article 2. Preventive financial control is uniformly organized at all the organizational levels of state socialist units. It is exercised within the financial-accountancy department and its aim is to bring about strict observance of the law in the utilization of funds, in accordance with plan provisions; to find out and eliminate unnecessary, uncalled for and uneconomical expenses; and to prevent waste. This control is also organized at the Ministry of Finance and at banks to insure rational utilization of funds in socialist units and to prevent illegal and uneconomical expenses.

Article 3. In the exercise of their functions, it is the responsibility of the bodies of preventive financial control to efficiently and firmly intervene to prevent drawbacks in the activity of socialist units before these drawbacks have time to produce negative effects, to identify their causes and to devise ways to prevent them.

This control exercised in socialist units will forestall all illegal, uncalled for and uneconomical operations before they are carried out, at the stage of contracting or disbursing, or in some cases at the stage of payment collection.

The manager of the financial-accountancy department as a specialized body--that is, the chief accountant--is responsible to the bodies of collective

leadership for the implementation of legal norms in his field of activity; it is his obligation to take resolute steps to obtain optimal efficiency before making decisions.

Under the present law, operations subjected to preventive financial control cannot be carried out without the signature of the manager of the financial-accountancy department--that is, the chief accountant.

Article 4. Under the present law, preventive financial control shall be exercised on operations which generate ownership rights or obligations for a certain socialist unit toward another socialist unit, toward other juridical persons or toward physical persons, as well as on operations envisaged under Articles 18 and 19, operations which are carried out by the Ministry of Finance and by banks.

Article 5. The document through which the leadership of a socialist unit assumes an obligation involving property, on behalf of the unit that it represents, constitutes the contracting act of this operation.

The document through which the leadership of the socialist unit orders cash or other payments for an obligation assumed, on the basis of legally drawn-up substantiation, constitutes the act of approval of the respective expense or operation.

Article 6. Preventive financial control is exercised by specially appointed persons empowered to check operations and endorse the documents sanctioning them.

The documents are submitted to preventive financial control by the department whose functions include the drawing up of such documents, or within which the aforementioned operations are performed; the documents must provide evidence as to the legality, necessity, opportunity and profitability of the use made of material and monetary resources.

Article 7. The managers of specialized departments, as well as the other persons of the socialist unit who draw up or participate in drawing up documents pertaining to operations subject to preventive financial control, are responsible for the legality, necessity, opportunity, profitability and reality of these operations.

Article 8. The ministers, leaders of other central state organs, chairmen of executive committees or bureaus of people's councils, directors general and director of centrals, enterprises and state institutions are obliged to establish, in the organizational and operational regulations that they draw up in accordance with the law, the functions and responsibilities incumbent on each person within socialist units who signs, draws up, or participates in the drawing up of documents pertaining to operations subject to preventive financial control, as well as the functions of those who exercise this control.

Article 9. Operations submitted for preventive financial control cannot be approved and carried out if this control has not been previously made.

Documents concerning operations subject to preventive financial control, which have not been endorsed by the persons empowered to exercise this control and which have not been approved for execution by the competent bodies, shall not be recorded in accounting files, but separately.

Article 10. Preventive financial control cannot be exercised by persons who, by virtue of their duties, participate in the act or operation subjected to this control.

Persons who, under legal provisions, cannot be entrusted with the administration of material and monetary means, or who were declared by final court decree as not being in a position to provide legal explanations for the possession of certain goods or assets, are not to be entrusted with the exercise of preventive financial control.

In the case of small units and subunits which do not possess financial-accounting departments or bodies of their own, such as sectors, work stations, state institutions with little activity and other similar units as well as specific situations, the preventive financial control can be exercised by persons who, by virtue of their position, participate in the act or operation subjected to preventive financial control, pending approval from the leadership of a higher-echelon unit.

Article 11. Operations pertaining to movement of material assets within a socialist unit are answered for by managers or their substitutes from the departments within which the respective operations are carried out. By signing the documents pertaining to these operations, the department managers or their substitutes confirm the legality, necessity, realism and profitability of these operations.

Managers of financial-accounting departments--that is, chief accountants--have the right to check each operation performed in accordance with the present article.

Chapter II. Preventive Financial Control in State Enterprises, Centrals and Institutions, Ministries, Other Central State Organs and Executive Committees or Bureaus of People's Councils

Article 12. The preventive financial control in state enterprises, centrals and institutions, ministries, other central state organs and executive committees or bureaus of people's councils is exercised, as the case may require, by the manager of the financial-accounting department or by the chief accountant.

When the volume and complexity of operations warrant, the leaderships of socialist units have the right to allow, at the proposal of the managers of financial-accountancy departments--that is, of the chief accountants--other persons in financial-accounting positions within the unit to exercise preventive financial control, persons who shall be empowered to fulfill this task along with their other functions or exclusively.

Article 13. In the exercise of preventive financial control and other functions pertaining to financial organization and activities, the managers of financial-accounting departments--that is, the chief accountants--are responsible for and must see to it that the socialist units fulfill their obligations, in accordance with legal provisions, toward the state, other socialist units, juridical and physical persons; they are responsible for measures to keep public property in good repair. They are to take part in activities carried on within their units with a view to enhancing the efficiency of socioeconomic activity; along with the unit's leaders, they are responsible for, and by their signature they commit the unit to, all operations involving property, and also fulfill other tasks envisaged in the law.

Article 14. The following operations are compulsorily submitted to preventive financial control in state enterprises, centrals and institutions, ministries, other central state organs and executive committees of people's councils:

- a) The conclusions of contracts and internal supply and sale orders, foreign trade contracts and contracts for work undertakings and services;
- b) Collection of payments for products delivered, services rendered and work performed, as well as for other of the unit's rights in relation to physical or juridical persons, not including collection of payments from the population, which the ministries and other central state organs will submit to subsequent control;
- c) Lei and currency payments for technical-material supplies, work performed and services rendered;
- d) Due payments for the work and other rights of wage-earners, within the provisions of legal norms, as well as adherence to the indexes of the working and wage plan, within uniform structural norms.
- e) Applications for bank loans, for opening credit and deduction of investments;
- f) The inclusion of losses, damages caused by calamities or other damages suffered by socialist units, for which the latter are not responsible, in expenses, financial results or other funds, in accordance with legal provisions;

g) The contracting and disbursing of payments out of approved budget credits, as well as out of any other legally earned means at the disposal of the unit;

H) Distribution of funds approved under the state budget and of open budget credits to subordinated units and according to activities;

i) Transfer of budget credits;

j) Release of certain sums left over from budget credits, at the end of the first, second and third quarters;

k) Establishment of prices and tariffs proposed after documentation, in accordance with legal provisions;

l) Transfer of fixed funds.

The ministries, other central state organs and executive committees of people's councils will also submit to preventive financial control the directives or norms that they have established for units subordinated to them, when the above-mentioned measures involve expenses.

Article 15. Documents concerning operations from which ownership rights or obligations derive, and which are submitted to preventive financial control, shall be accompanied by appropriate substantiating acts and shall be previously signed by the manager of the specialized department in which the respective operation is to be carried out.

In signing these documents, the managers of the specialized departments assume responsibility for the legality, necessity, opportunity, profitability and realism of these operations.

In the event that legal provisions require that the operations be advised by a jurist, the respective documents shall be submitted to preventive financial control along with the jurist's recommendation.

Organs charged with exercising preventive financial control shall consult a jurist whenever they consider it necessary.

Article 16. Persons who exercise preventive financial control have the obligation to tender a written, substantiated refusal to endorse documents, if the operations in question are illegal, unnecessary, inopportune and unprofitable, after they have first notified the unit's leader on these cases and examined them with him.

In the event that persons appointed to exercise preventive financial control do not agree to go ahead with the operations submitted for control, the manager of the financial-accounting department--that is, the chief accountant--is the person who rejects endorsement, after having examined these cases with the unit's leader.

Article 17. In the event that the preventive financial control body refused to endorse an operation at the stage of contracting or payment, the units' director can order the undertaking of the respective operation in writing, on his own responsibility. The following procedure applies to such cases:

a) When the operation is rejected at its contracting stage, the manager of the financial-accounting department, the chief accountant, must notify in writing, within 2 days, the following persons:

The manager of the superior organ and the territorial state financial inspectorates of the Ministry of Finance, if the rejection took place at enterprises, centrals or executive committees or bureaus of people's councils, with the exception of the county councils or the Bucharest Municipality Council or in the state institutions other than central state organs. The manager of the higher echelon organ, on the basis of the notification received, must check the matter within 15 days and take measures as envisaged in legal provisions, at the same time notifying the organs of the Ministry of Finance on the matter.

The Ministry of Finance--if the refusal took place at the executive committees of the people's councils or of Bucharest Municipality--which within 15 days must look into the matter and take measures specified in legal provisions.

The Higher Court of Financial Control, if the rejection took place at ministries or other central state organs. On the basis of the notifications received, the Higher Court of Financial Control will check the matter within 15 days at the most, and will take measures as envisaged in legal provisions.

b) When the operation is rejected at the payment stage, the documents are deposited with the banking unit or at the department which is carrying out the operation, signed by the leader of the respective unit and supplemented by a mention of the endorsement refusal. In such cases, the manager of the financial-accounting department--that is, the chief accountant--must notify in writing, within 2 days, the appropriate organ mentioned under the above letters. The banking units will honor the respective payment documents after having made the examination which they are obliged to make in accordance with the law.

### Chapter III. Preventive Financial Control Exercised by the Ministry of Finance and by Banks

Article 18. The Ministry of Finance exercises preventive financial control over the granting of budget funds, applications for transfer of budget credits, as well as other similar financial operations which enter its functions as envisaged in its organization and operational law and in the Law on Finances.

Corresponding functions are executed by financial administrative bodies and other financial-accountancy organs of executive committees or bureaus of people's councils as regard local budgets.

Article 19. The National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry, the Bank of Investments and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank insure preventive financial control at the central level and at the level of regional subordinated units, on credit, financing and payment operations, in lei and in foreign currency; on operations concerning production activity, goods turnover, investments, foreign trade and other economic and social activities--in keeping with legal norms.

Article 20. The Ministry of Finance, the governor of the National Bank of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the governors of specialized banks, establish, each for the institutions and units subordinated to them, the methods of preventive financial control of operations subjected to this control, within their prescribed functions.

As regards the financial administrative bodies and other financial-accounting bodies of executive committees of people's councils, the operations to be submitted to preventive financial control and the prerogatives of persons who exercise this control are established within the functions established by the Ministry of Finance.

Article 21. In exercising their preventive financial control functions, the Ministry of Finance, the banking centrals and the regional units in their subordination have the obligation not to proceed with illegal or inefficient operations, as envisaged under Article 20.

Article 22. The financial administrative bodies and other financial-accounting organs of executive committees or bureaus of people's councils must tender a written, substantiated refusal to endorse documents, if operations are illegal or inefficient.

In the even that the preventive financial control refuses to endorse the documents, the chairman of the executive committee or bureaus of people's council can give a written order on his own responsibility, to proceed with the operation in question. The procedure applying on these cases is the following:

- a) The financial-accounting bodies of the executive committees or bureaus of communal, city and municipal people's councils and of the people's councils of the Bucharest Municipality sectors must notify, within 2 days and in writing, the chairman of the executive committee of the higher regional administrative unit, who in his turn must check the matter and to take measures within 15 days;
- b) The financial administrative bodies of the various counties and of Bucharest Municipality must notify in writing, within 2 days, the Ministry of Finance, who will check the matter and will take appropriate measures within 15 days.



#### Chapter IV. The Prerogatives of the Higher Court for Financial Control as Regards Preventive Financial Control

Article 23. The Higher Court for Financial Control guides and coordinates preventive financial control, insuring its uniform approach, methods and organization at all organizational levels of the socialist units.

Article 24. The Higher Court for Financial Control exercises, through its own control organs within ministries and other central state organs, a preventive financial control on the legality and efficiency of contracting and incurring expenses out of the funds administrated by these organs.

The ministries and other central state organs subjected to preventive financial control by the Higher Court for Financial Control, have their funds and value limits, as well as the operations which are to be submitted to this control, established by the Court, in accordance with the law governing its organization.

Article 25. Documents regarding operations which are submitted to preventive financial control of organs of the Higher Court for Financial Control are to be forwarded to these organs signed by the manager of the financial-accounting department and endorsed by appropriate parties; excepted are those operations which are endorsed by ministers and leaders of other central state organs, in which case the documents are forwarded for preventive financial control to organs of the court before being approved.

Article 26. Organs of the Higher Court for Financial Control which exercise preventive financial control at ministries and other central state organs must tender a written, substantiated rejection, with the agreement of the Executive Bureau of the court council, if operations are illegal or inefficient. In this case, the operations shall not be carried out.

In the event that endorsement has been refused, the minister or leader of a central state organ can address the Council of Ministers, which shall decide on the operation and notify the court on its decision.

The Higher Court for Financial Control shall inform the State Council on cases of operations carried out at the order of the Council of Ministers.

Article 27. The Higher Court for Financial Control can exercise preventive financial control through its own organs at certain enterprises, centrals, state institutions and executive committees of the people's council of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality, as regards the legality and efficiency of contracting and disbursing expenses out of funds administered by these units. With the prior approval of the Ministry of Finance and of the banks, for special cases, the Higher Court for Financial Control can temporarily empower bodies of the aforementioned organs to exercise preventive financial control.

The units at which the Higher Court of Financial Control is to exercise preventive financial control in accordance with the above paragraph, their funds and value limits, as well as the operations which are to be controlled, are established by the Court, according to their volume and importance, and their shortcomings and violations are to be noted as well.

Article 28. Documents concerning operations which are submitted to preventive financial control by organs of the Higher Court for Financial Control, and by those empowered by the court to act at centrals, enterprises, state institutions and people's councils of the counties and of the Bucharest Municipality, are forwarded to these organs signed by the manager of the financial-accounting department and approved by the appropriate parties.

Documents concerning operations which are approved by chairmen of the people's councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality are forwarded to the court's preventive financial control before approval.

Article 29. The organs of the Higher Court for Financial Control and those empowered by the court to exercise preventive financial control at centrals, enterprises and state institutions must tender a written, substantiated refusal to endorse the documents, if the operations in question are illegal or inefficient. In this case, the operations cannot be carried out.

In the event that the leader of the central, enterprise or state institution does not agree with the refusal to endorse the operation, he can apply to the ministry or to a higher echelon body, in which case the provisions included in Article 26, paragraphs 2 and 3, will be implemented accordingly.

Article 30. The organs of the Higher Court for Financial Control and those empowered by the court to exercise preventive financial control at executive committees of the people's councils of the counties and of the Bucharest Municipality, must tender a written, substantiated refusal, with the approval of the Executive Bureau of the Court's Council, to endorse the documents, if the operations involved are illegal or inefficient. In this case, the operations cannot be carried out.

When endorsement has been refused, the provisions of Article 26, paragraphs 2 and 3, are to be applied.

Article 31. The Higher Court for Financial Control establishes uniform methodological norms concerning the activity of preventive financial control. According to the case, the activity of preventive financial control is guided and supervised by the Higher Court for Financial Control, the Ministry of Finance, the banks, and organs of internal financial control.

The Higher Court for Financial Control and the Ministry of Finance, along with the ministries and other central organs and executive committees of the people's council of the counties and of the Bucharest Municipality

shall insure periodic instruction and examination of professional qualifications of those empowered to exercise preventive financial control, in keeping with the provisions of the present law.

#### Chapter V. Obligations, Responsibilities and Sanctions

Article 32. The ministers, leaders of other central state organs, chairmen of executive committees or bureaus of people's councils and the directors of socialist units under their subordination are obligated to:

- a) Organize and supervise the exercise of preventive financial control at their own units and at those subordinated to them, so that the control is in accordance with the provisions established under this law;
- b) In accordance with the present law, to designate, through orders or decisions, the persons who are to exercise preventive financial control and the operations and documents that these persons are to check;
- c) In accordance with the law, to take measures to provide the legislation required for the exercise of preventive financial control and to make sure that the personnel empowered to carry out this control are familiar with the legislations;
- d) To submit for discussion the activity of preventive financial control within the organ of collective leadership, along with the examination of the economic-financial results as shown in the balance sheet, and to establish the necessary measures for improving this activity.

Article 33. The appointment to and the removal from office of the heads of the directorates with financial and accounting duties, the chief accountants, the other persons who conduct financial and accounting activities, and the directors of the financial administrations are done, in accordance with the legal standards, with the approval of:

1. The Ministry of Finance, for:

- a) The heads of the directorates with financial and accounting duties in ministries, departments, the other central state bodies, the Central Union of Artisan Cooperatives, the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives and the central bodies in which the management of the financial and accounting activity is done by persons having a position other than that of director, the Ministry of Finance, together with the respective ministry or central body, will establish the position for which the approval is given;
- b) The directors of the county financial administrations and of that of the municipality of Bucharest;
- c) The chief accountants in centrals and similar units and in the county unions and the Bucharest municipality unions of the artisan cooperatives and the consumer cooperatives;

d) The chief accountants in the special-grade state enterprises and in the special sector.

2. The state territorial financial inspectorates, for:

a) The chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in the enterprises, state institutions and other units with a legal personality that are directly subordinate to the ministries and other central bodies;

b) The chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in the enterprises, state institutions and other units with a legal personality that are subordinate to the centrals and units like them, to the county and Bucharest municipality unions of the artisan cooperatives and the consumer cooperatives or to the central public organizations.

3. The financial administrations, for:

a) The chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in their own apparatus and in the specialized local bodies of the executive committees of the county people's councils and of that of the municipality of Bucharest;

b) The chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in the enterprises, state institutions and other units with a legal personality that are of local subordination;

c) The chiefs of the municipal financial districts and of those of the sectors of Bucharest Municipality and their chief accountants;

d) The chiefs of the city financial services and the chief accountants of these services;

3) The accountants of the commune people's councils.

For performing the duties specified by law in the financial and accounting field, the persons specified in points 1, 2 and 3 of the present article will receive, on appointment to office, a written authorization from the minister of finance and from the minister of the head of the central body or from the chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of the county or of Bucharest Municipality which has jurisdiction over the unit in which they are to perform their activity.

Article 34. The appointment to and the removal from office of the chief accountants and other persons who conduct the financial and accounting activity in the economic and budgetary units belonging to the Ministry of

Article 35. The appointment to and the removal from office of the chief accountants in the agricultural production cooperatives and in the inter-cooperative economic associations will be done with the approval of the General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food Industry and of the branch of the Bank for Agriculture and the Food Industry in the respective county.

Article 36. The appointment to and the removal from office of the chief accountants in factories, plants, operations, sections, sites and other units without a legal personality will be done at the proposal of the chief accountants of the enterprises, centrals or units with a legal personality in the composition of which the units without a legal personality operate.

The Ministry of Finance, together with the ministries, the other central bodies and the executive committees of the people's councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality, will establish the units without a legal personality at which the appointment to and the removal from office of the chief accountants will be done with the approval of the state territorial financial inspectorates, under the conditions specified in Article 33 and Article 38.

Article 37. At the state institutions whose heads have the capacity of tertiary chief loan accountants in which there is a single accountant employed with a reduced work program or paid on a basis of fixed compensation, the appointment to and the removal from office of the accountant will be done at the proposal of the head of the financial and accounting department of the higher-ranking body.

Article 38. The request for the obtaining of the approval is forwarded to the bodies competent to give their agreement by those who, according to law, have the capacity to appoint to office the person for whom approval is requested. The request will be accompanied by the personnel report, which will also contain the evaluation of the activity performed and of the vocational training of the person in question, and by the excerpt from his disciplinary record.

The competent bodies will give their approval within at most 15 days of receipt of the request, after the persons in question are examined by a commission from the viewpoint of the results obtained in activity and of the level of vocational training. Delegates of the bodies competent to give their approval and of the requesting bodies belong to the commission.

When they find that the activity of the persons who conduct financial and accounting activities is not performed under satisfactory conditions and in conformity with the legal provisions, the bodies competent to give their approval have the power to withdraw the approval given concerning their appointment. The withdrawal of the approval entails the changing of the position of the respective persons and the cessation of the authorization received.

Article 39. In the absence of the heads of the directorates with financial and accounting duties, the chief accountants, the other persons who conduct financial and accounting activities, and the directors of the financial administrations, all their duties are performed by the lawful substitute or, in his absence, by the specialized person designated by the collective leadership body of the unit, at the proposal of the head of the department with financial and accounting duties.

Article 40. The ministers, leaders of other central state organs, chairmen of executive committees or bureaus of people's councils, directors general and other directors of centrals, enterprises and state institutions who do not insure the appropriate exercise and organization of preventive financial control, or who commit any other violation of the provisions of the present law, bear the civil, material, disciplinary, administrative or criminal responsibility, according to the case, in keeping with the provisions of legal norms.

Article 41. Managers of financial-accounting departments--that is, chief accountants--who, along with the unit's directors, by virtue of their specialized position, commit the unit by their signature, bear the civil, material, disciplinary, administrative or criminal responsibility, from the financial point of view, for the legality of operations which involve property.

The same responsibility is also shared by the other persons in the employment of the socialist units who do not adequately exercise preventive financial control, or who commit any other violation of the provisions of the present law.

Article 42. The execution or approval of an operation submitted to preventive financial control without having approval of the respective documents from the organ empowered to carry out this control, as well as the endorsement for preventive financial control of documents pertaining to operations which entail violation of regulations in force, constitute an offense and draw fines from 2,000 to 10,000 lei.

Article 43. Other offenses subject to fines ranging between 1,000 lei and 5,000 lei are the following:

- a) Drawing up and submitting for preventive financial control documents concerning operations lacking a legal basis;
- b) The incorporation in accountancy records of documents concerning operations which, under the present law, have been submitted for preventive financial control without bearing the control endorsement of the competent authorities and the approval of the appropriate organs;
- c) Illegal authorization of documents which concern operations entailing violation of regulations in force, for preventive financial control;

- d) Refusal of preventive financial control endorsement for legal operations;
- e) Nonissuance of the administrative documents envisaged under Article 32, letter 'b';
- f) Failure of the manager of the financial-accounting department--that is, the chief accountant--to notify the appropriate organs on cases stipulated under Articles 17 and 22 of the present law;
- g) Signature of department chiefs or their substitutes on documents concerning movement of material assets within the socialist unit which entails violation of legal provisions.

The offenses are verified and the sanction are applied by the persons who exercise preventive financial control or banking control, each within its prerogatives, in accordance with legal provisions concerning the verification and application of penalties for financial offenses.

The offense mentioned under point 'a', is verified and the penalty applied to those who are guilty of it also by the manager of the financial-accounting department--that is, the chief accountant of the respective unit.

As for offenses verified and penalties enforced by the control personnel of the Higher Court for Financial Control, complaints can be referred to the court and are resolved by the court's juridical collegium; the decisions thus handed down are final and must be enforced.

As for the offenses included under point e) of this article, when perpetrated by the chief credit executives of the national budget, who are members of the Council of Ministers, by other leaders of central state organs elected by the GNA as well as by chief credit executives of the budget of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality, the verification is performed by the organ of the Higher Court for Financial Control, and the penalty is enforced by the court's president.

For cases which the present law does not cover, the provisions of Law 32/1968 on the establishment and punishment of offenses shall be applied to offenses included in the present article.

Article 44. If the deeds stipulated under Article 43 has been committed under such circumstances that, under criminal law, they constitute infringements of the law, the competent criminal prosecution organ shall be notified.

Article 45. The Higher Court for Financial Control has the right to recommend the release of persons empowered to carry on preventive financial control from the positions of leaders of socialist units, when they are guilty of serious violations in organizing and exercising this control, with the exception of those who hold positions to which they have been

elected, and those appointed by the State Council or by the Council of Ministers. This measure shall be implemented by the competent organs in keeping with conditions provided by the law.

#### Chapter VI. Temporary and Final Provisions

Article 46. It is recommended that central cooperative organizations and other central mass organizations establish, after having consulted the Higher Court for Financial Control, appropriate regulations on the organization and functioning of preventive financial control on operations involving ownership rights and obligations.

Article 47. The present law will come into force 60 days from the date of publication in BULETINUL OFICIAL. The following will be abrogated on the same date:

Subparagraph 3 of Article 8 and Articles 10 through 15 inclusive of Law No 5/10 July 1970 concerning the administration of material and monetary resources and the organization and operation of financial control, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 80 of 10 July 1970;

Points 20 and 21 of Article No 1; letter c) of Article No 2 of Council of Ministers Decision No 68/1970 shall be correspondingly modified, with the view to permitting the verification and penalizing of contraventions of laws involving financial discipline, income and other taxes and insurance premiums, according to the law and its subsequent modifications republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL No 13 of 1 February 1972;

Articles 1-7 and annex NO 1 of Council of Ministers Decision No 1047/1970 containing measures for the implementation of Law No 5/1970 on the management of material and monetary resources, the organization and operation of financial control, with subsequent modifications, republished in BULETINUL OFICIAL, Part I, No 13 of 1 February 1972,

as well as any other conflicting provisions.

NOTE: In accordance with the provisions of Article II of Council of State Decree No 388/1977, the Ministry of Finance, together with the other ministries and central organs and the executive committees of the people's councils of the counties and of Bucharest Municipality will take measures so as to ensure, within 12 months of the date of the adoption of the above-mentioned decree, the examination, from a professional standpoint, of all persons who execute financial and accounting activity.

The Ministry of Finance, the state territorial financial inspectorates, the financial administrations, and other competent organs, when necessary, will give their approval for the retention of the persons described in the



preceding paragraph, in accordance with the results of the examination. Along with approval, the persons mentioned in Article 33, points 1, 2, and 3 of the law will also receive written permission to execute the functions stipulated by law in the field of finance and accounting.

CSO: 2700

END